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SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY OF MAN.

BY THE HONOURABLE

HENRY HOME OF KAMES,

OF THE SENATORS OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE, AND ONE OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF JUSTICIARY IN SCOTLAND.

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ciety. 3. Progreſs of the Sciences. To explain theſe heads, a preliminary diſcourſe is neceſſary; which is, to examine, Whether all men be of one lineage, deſcended from a ſingle pair, or whether there be different races originally diſtinct.

PRE-

Preliminary Discourse, concerning the Origin of Men and of Languages.

Whether there are different races of men, or whether all men are of one race without any difference but what proceeds from climate or other external cause, is a question which philosophers differ widely about. As the question is of moment in tracing the history of man, I purpose to contribute my mite. And, in order to admit all the light possible, a view of brute animals as divided into different races or kinds, will make a proper introduction.

As many animals contribute to our well-being, and as many are noxious, man would be a being not a little imperfect, were he provided with no means but experience for distinguishing the one sort from the other. Did every animal make a species by itself (indulging the expression) differing from all others, a man would finish his course without acquiring as much knowledge of animals as is necessary even for self-preservation: he would be absolutely at a loss with respect to unknown individuals. The Deity has left none of his works imperfect. Animals are formed of different kinds; resemblance prevailing among animals of the same kind, dissimilitude among animals of different kinds. And, to prevent confu-

ſion, kinds are diſtinguiſhed externally by figure, air, manner, ſo clearly as not to eſcape even a child *. Nor does Divine Wiſdom ſtop here: to complete the ſyſtem, we are endued with an innate conviction, that each kind has properties peculiar to itſelf; and that theſe properties belong to every individual of the kind †. Our road to the knowledge of animals is thus wonderfully ſhortened: the experience we have of the diſpoſition and properties of any animal, is applied without heſitation to every one of the kind. By that conviction, a child, familiar with one dog, is fond of others that reſemble it: An European, upon the firſt ſight of a cow in Africa, ſtrokes it as gentle and innocent: and an African avoids a tiger in Hindoſtan as at home.

If the foregoing theory be well founded, neither experience nor argument is required to prove, that a horſe is not an aſs, or that a monkey is not a man ‡. In ſome individuals indeed, there is ſuch a mixture of reſemblance and diſſimilitude, as to render it uncertain to what ſpecies they belong. But ſuch inſtances are rare, and impinge not on the general law. Such queſtions may be curious, but they are of little uſe.

Whether

* "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every "beaſt of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought "them unto Adam to ſee what he would call them. And "Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, "and to every beaſt of the field." *Gen.* ii. 19.

† See Elements of Criticiſm, vol. 2. p. 490. edit. 5.

‡ See M. Buffon's Natural Hiſtory.

Whether man be provided by nature with a faculty to diſtinguiſh innocent animals from what are noxious, ſeems not a clear point: ſuch a faculty may be thought unneceſſary to man, being ſupplied by reaſon and experience. But as reaſon and experience have little influence on brute animals, they undoubtedly poſſeſs that faculty *. A beaſt of prey would be ill fitted for its ſtation, if nature did not teach it what creatures to attack, what to avoid. A rabbit is the prey of the ferret. Preſent a rabbit, even dead, to a young ferret that never had ſeen a rabbit: it throws itſelf upon the body, and bites it with fury. A hound has the ſame faculty with reſpect to a hare; and moſt dogs have it. Unleſs directed by nature, innocent animals would not know their enemy till they were in its clutches. A hare flies with precipitation from the firſt dog it ever ſaw; and a chicken, upon the ſight of a kite, cowers under its dam. Social animals, without ſcruple, connect with their own kind, and as readily avoid others †. Birds

 are

* Brute animals have many inſtincts that are denied to man, becauſe the want of them can be ſupplied by education An infant muſt be taught to walk; and it is long before it acquires the art in perfection. Brutes have no teacher but nature. A foal, the moment it ſees the light, walks no leſs perfectly than its parents. And ſo does a partridge, lapwing, &c.

Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit; unde niſi intus
Monſtratum.— HORACE.

† The populace about Smyrna have a cruel amuſement. They [illegible] eggs of a hen in a ſtork's neſt. Upon ſeeing the [illegible] chickens,

are not afraid of quadrupeds; not even of a cat, till they are taught by experience that a cat is their enemy. They appear to be as little afraid of a man naturally; and upon that account are far from being ſhy when left unmoleſted. In the uninhabited iſland of Viſia Grandé, one of the Philippines, Kempfer ſays, that birds may be taken with the hand. Hawks, in ſome of the South Sea iſlands, are equally tame. At Port Egmont in the Falkland Iſlands, geeſe, far from being ſhy, may be knocked down with a ſtick. The birds that inhabit certain rocks hanging over the ſea, in the iſland of Annabon, take food readily out of a man's hand. In Arabia Felix, foxes and apes ſhow no fear of man; the inhabitants of hot countries having no notion of hunting. In the uninhabited iſland Bering, adjacent to Kamſkatka, foxes are ſo little ſhy that they ſcarce go out of a man's way. Doth not this obſervation ſuggeſt a final cauſe? A partridge, a plover, a pheaſant, would be loſt to man for food, were they naturally as much afraid of him as of a hawk or a kite.

The diviſion of animals into different kinds, ſerves another purpoſe, no leſs important than thoſe mentioned; which is, to fit them for different climates. We learn, from experience, that no animal nor vegetable is equally fitted for every climate;

chickens, the male in amazement calls his neighbouring ſtorks together; who, to revenge the affront put upon them, deſtroy the poor innocent female; while he bewails his [illegible] in heavy lamentation.

mate; and from experience we alſo learn, that there is no animal nor vegetable but what is fitted for ſome climate, where it grows to perfection. Even in the torrid zone, plants of a cold climate are found upon mountains where plants of a hot climate will not grow; and the height of a mountain may be determined with tolerable preciſion from the plants it produces. Wheat is not an indigenous plant in Britain: no farmer is ignorant that foreign ſeed is requiſite to preſerve the plant in vigour. To prevent flax from degenerating in Scotland and Ireland, great quantities of foreign ſeed are annually imported. A camel is peculiarly fitted for the burning ſands of Arabia; and Lapland would be uninhabitable but for rein-deer, an animal ſo entirely fitted for piercing cold, that it cannot ſubſiſt even in a temperate climate. Arabian and Barbary horſes degenerate in Britain; and, to preſerve the breed in ſome degree of perfection, frequent ſupplies from their original climate are requiſite. Spaniſh horſes degenerate in Mexico; but improve in Chili, having more vigour and ſwiftneſs there, than even the Andaluſian race, whoſe offſpring they are. Our dunghil-fowls, imported originally from a warm country in Aſia, are not hardened, even after many centuries, to bear the cold of this country, like birds originally native: the hen lays few or no eggs in winter, unleſs in a houſe warmed with fire. The deſerts of Zaara and Biledulgerid in Africa, may be properly

termed the native country of lions: there they are nine feet long and five feet high. Lions in the ſouth of Africa toward the Cape of Good Hope, are but five feet and a half long, and three and a half high. A breed of lions tranſplanted from the latter to the former, would riſe to the full ſize; and ſink to the ſmaller ſize, if tranſplanted from the former to the latter *.

To preſerve the different kinds or ſpecies of animals entire, as far as neceſſary, Providence is careful to prevent a mixed breed. Few animals of different ſpecies copulate together. Some may be brought to copulate, but without effect; and ſome produce a mongrel, a mule for example, which ſeldom

* That every ſpecies of plants has a proper climate where it grows to perfection, is a fact uncontroverted. The ſame holds in brute animals. Biledulgerid, the kindly climate for lions, would be mortal to the bear, the wolf, the deer, and other inhabitants of a cold region. Providence has not only fitted the productions of nature for different climates, but has guarded theſe productions againſt the extremities of the weather in the ſame climate. Many plants cloſe their leaves during night; and ſome cloſe them at mid-day againſt the burning rays of the ſun. In cold climates, plants during winter are protected againſt cold by ſnow. In theſe climates, the hair of ſome animals grows long in winter: ſeveral animals are covered with much fat, which protects them againſt cold; and many birds are fatter in winter than in ſummer, though probably their nouriſhment is leſs plentiful. Several animals ſleep during winter in ſheltered places; and birds of paſſage are taught by nature to change the climate, when too hot or too cold.

dom procreates, if at all. In ſome few inſtances, where a mixture of ſpecies is harmleſs, procreation goes on without limitation. All the different ſpecies of the dog-kind copulate together; and the mongrels produced generate others without end.

M. Buffon, in his Natural Hiſtory, borrows from Ray * a very artificial rule for aſcertaining the different ſpecies of animals: "Any two animals "that can procreate together, and whoſe iſſue can "alſo procreate, are of the ſame ſpecies †." A horſe and an aſs can procreate together; but they are not, ſays he, of the ſame ſpecies, becauſe their iſſue, a mule, cannot procreate. He applies that rule to man; holding all men to be of the ſame ſpecies, becauſe a man and a woman, however different in ſize, in ſhape, in complexion, can procreate together without end. And by the ſame rule he holds all dogs to be of the ſame ſpecies. With reſpect to other animals, the author ſhould peaceably be indulged in his fancy; but as it comprehends alſo man, I cannot paſs it without examination. Providence, to prevent confuſion, hath in many inſtances withheld from animals of different ſpecies a power of procreating together: but as our author has not attempted to prove that ſuch reſtraint is univerſal without a ſingle exception, his rule is evidently a *petitio principii*. Why may not two animals different

* Wiſdom of God in the Works of Creation.

† Octavo edit. vol. viii. p. 104. and in many other parts.

ferent in ſpecies produce a mixed breed? M. Buffon muſt ſay, that it is contrary to a law of nature. But has he given any evidence of this ſuppoſed law of nature? On the contrary, he proves it by various inſtances, not to be a law of nature. He admits the ſheep and the goat to be of different ſpecies; and yet we have his authority for affirming, that a he-goat and a ewe produce a mixed breed which generate for ever *. The camel and the dromedary, though nearly related, are however no leſs diſtinct than the horſe and the aſs. The dromedary is leſs than the camel, more ſlender, and remarkably more ſwift of foot: it has but one bunch on its back, the camel has two: the race is more numerous than that of the camel, and more widely ſpread. One would not deſire diſtinguiſhing marks more ſatisfying; and yet theſe two ſpecies propagate together, no leſs freely than the different races of men and of dogs. M. Buffon indeed, with reſpect to the camel and dromedary, endeavours to ſave his credit by a diſtinction without a difference. "They "are," ſays he, "one ſpecies; but their races are "different, and have been ſo paſt all memory †." Is not this the ſame with ſaying, that the camel and the dromedary are different ſpecies of the ſame genus? which alſo holds true of the different ſpecies of men and of dogs. If our author will permit me to carry back to the creation the camel and the dromedary as two diſtinct races, I deſire no

* Vol. x. p. 138. † Vol. x. p. 1.

no other conceſſion. He admits no fewer than ten kinds of goats, viſibly diſtinguiſhable, which alſo propagate together; but ſays, that theſe are varieties only, though permanent and unchangeable: No difficulty is unſurmountable, if words be allowed to paſs without meaning. Nor does he even adhere to the ſame opinion: though, in diſtinguiſhing a horſe from an aſs, he affirms the mule they generate to be barren; yet afterward, entirely forgetting his rule, he admits the direct contrary *. At that rate, a horſe and an aſs are of the ſame ſpecies. Did it never once enter into the mind of this author, that the human race would be ſtrangely imperfect, if they were unable to diſtinguiſh a man from a monkey, or a hare from a hedge-hog, till it were known whether they can procreate together?

But it ſeems unneceſſary, after all, to urge any argument againſt the foregoing rule, which M. Buffon himſelf inadvertently abandons as to all animals, men and dogs excepted. We are indebted to him for a remark, That not a ſingle animal of the torrid zone is common to the old world and to the new. But how does he verify his remark? Does he ever think of trying whether ſuch animals can procreate together? "They are," ſays he, "of different kinds, having no ſuch reſemblance as to make us pronounce them to be "of the ſame kind. Linnæus and Briſſon," he adds,

* Vol. xii. p. 22[illegible].

adds, " have very improperly given the name " of the camel to the lama and the pacos of Pe- " ru. So apparent is the difference, that other " writers clafs thefe animals with fheep. Wool, " however, is the only circumftance in which a " pacos refembles a fheep: nor doth the lama re- " femble a camel, except in length of neck." He diftinguifheth, in the fame manner, the true Afiatic tiger from feveral American animals, that bear the fame name. He mentions its fize, its force, its ferocity, the colour of its hair, the ftripes black and white that like rings furround alternately its trunk, and are continued to the tip of its tail: " Characters," fays he, " that clearly diftinguifh " the true tiger from all animals of prey in the new " world; the largeft of which fcarce equals one " of our maftives." And he reafons in the fame manner upon the other animals of the torrid zone *. Here truth obliges our author to acknowledge, that we are taught by nature to diftinguifh animals into different kinds by vifible marks, without regard to his artificial rule. And if fo, there muft be different kinds of men; for certain tribes differ vifibly from each other, no lefs than the lama and pacos from the camel or from the fheep, nor lefs than the true tiger from the American animals of that name †. For proving that dogs were created of different

* See vol. 8. fect. Of animals common to the two continents.

† No perfon thinks that all trees can be traced back to one kind. Yet the figure leaves, fruit, &c. of different kinds, are not

different kinds, what better evidence can be expected than that the kinds continue diſtinct to this day? Our author pretends to derive the maſtiff, the bull-dog, the hound, the greyhound, the terrier, the water-dog, &c. all of them from the prick-eared ſhepherd's cur. Now, admitting the progeny of the original male and female cur to have ſuffered every poſſible alteration from climate, food, domeſtication; the reſult would be endleſs varieties, ſo that no one individual ſhould reſemble another. Whence then are derived the different ſpecies of dogs above mentioned, or the different races or varieties, as M. Buffon is pleaſed to name them? Uniformity invariable muſt be a law in their nature, for it never can be aſcribed to chance. There are mongrels, it is true, among dogs, from want of choice, or from a depraved appetite: but as all animals prefer their own kind, mongrels are few compared with animals of a true breed. There are mongrels alſo among men: the ſeveral kinds however continue diſtinct; and probably will ſo continue for ever.

There remains an argument againſt the ſyſtem of M. Buffon with reſpect to dogs, ſtill more concluſive. Allowing to climate its utmoſt influence, it may poſſibly have an effect upon the ſize and figure; but ſurely M. Buffon cannot ſeriouſly think that the different inſtincts of dogs are owing to climate. A terrier, whoſe prey burrows under ground,

not more diſtinct, than the difference of figure, colour, &c. in the different races of men.

ground, is continually ſcraping the earth, and thruſting its noſe into it. A hound has always its noſe on the ſurface, in order to trace a hare by ſmell. The ſame inſtinct is remarkable in ſpaniels. It is by nature that theſe creatures are directed to be continually going about, to catch the ſmell, and trace their prey. A greyhound which has not the ſmelling-faculty, is conſtantly looking about for its prey. A ſhepherd's dog may be improved by education, but nature prompts it to guard the flock. A houſe-dog makes its round every night to protect its maſter againſt ſtrangers, without ever being trained to it. Such dogs have a notion of property, and are truſty guardians of their maſter's goods: in his abſence, no perſon dares lay hold of his hat or his great-coat. Waggoners employ dogs of that kind to watch during night the goods they carry. Is it conceivable, that ſuch different inſtincts, conſtantly the ſame in the ſame ſpecies, can proceed from climate, from mixture of breed, or from other accidental cauſe?

The celebrated Linnæus, inſtead of deſcribing every animal according to its kind, as Adam our firſt parent did, has wandered far from nature in claſſing animals. He diſtributes them into ſix claſſes, viz. *Mammalia*, *Aves*, *Amphibia*, *Piſces*, *Inſecta*, *Vermes*. The *Mammalia* are diſtributed into ſeven orders, chiefly from their teeth, viz. *Primates*, *Bruta*, *Feræ*, *Glires*, *Pecora*, *Belluæ*, *Cetæ*. And the *Primates* are, *Homo*, *Simia*, *Lemur*,

mur, *Vespertilio*. What may have been his purpose in classing animals so contrary to nature, I cannot guess, if it be not to enable us, from the nipples and teeth of any particular animal, to know where it is to be found in his book. It resembles the classing books in a library by size, or by binding, without regard to the contents: it may serve as a sort of dictionary; but to no other purpose. How whimsical is it to class together animals that nature hath widely separated, a man for example and a bat? What will a plain man think of a manner of classing, that denies a whale to be a fish? In classing animals, why does he confine himself to the nipples and the teeth, when there are many other distinguishing marks? Animals are no less distinguishable with respect to tails; long tails, short tails, no tails: nor less distinguishable with respect to hands; some having four, some two, some none, &c. &c. Yet, after all, if any solid instruction can be acquired from such classing, I shall listen, not only with attention, but with satisfaction.

Now, more particularly of man, after discussing other animals.—If the only rule afforded by nature for classing animals can be depended upon, there are different species of men as well as of dogs: a mastiff differs not more from a spaniel, than a white man from a negro, or a Laplander from a Dane. And if we have any belief in Providence, it ought to be so. Plants were created of

of different kinds to fit them for different climates, and ſo were brute animals. Certain it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. Is there not then reaſon to conclude, that as there are different climates, ſo there are different ſpecies of men fitted for theſe different climates? The inhabitants of the frozen regions of the north, men, birds, beaſts, fiſh, are all provided with a quantity of fat which guards them againſt cold. Even the trees are full of roſin. The iſland St Thomas, under the line, is extremely foggy; and the natives are fitted for that ſort of weather, by the rigidity of their fibres. The fog is diſpelled in July and Auguſt by dry winds; which give vigour to Europeans, whoſe fibres are relaxed by a moiſt atmoſphere as by a warm bath. The natives, on the contrary, who are not fitted for a dry air, have more diſeaſes in July and Auguſt than during the other ten months. On the other hand, inſtances are without number of men degenerating in a climate to which they are not fitted by nature; and I know not of a ſingle inſtance where in ſuch a climate people have retained their original vigour. Several European colonies have ſubſiſted in the torrid zone of America more than two centuries; and yet even that length of time has not familiarized them to the climate: they cannot bear heat like the original inhabitants, nor like negroes tranſplanted from a country equally hot: they are far from equalling in vigour of mind

mind or body the nations from which they ſprung. The Spaniſh inhabitants of Carthagena in South America loſe their vigour and colour in a few months. Their motions are languid; and their words are pronounced in a low voice, and with long and frequent intervals. The offſpring of Europeans born in Batavia, ſoon degenerate. Scarce one of them has talents ſufficient to bear a part in the adminiſtration. There is not an office of truſt but muſt be filled with native Europeans. Some Portugueſe, who have been for ages ſettled on the ſea-coaſt of Congo, retain ſcarce the appearance of men. South Carolina, eſpecially about Charleſton, is extremely hot, having no ſea-breeze to cool the air: Europeans there die ſo faſt, that they have not time to degenerate. Even in Jamaica, though more temperate by a regular ſucceſſion of land and ſea-breezes, recruits from Britain are neceſſary to keep up the numbers *. The climate of the northern provinces reſembles our own, and population goes on rapidly.

What means are employed by Providence to qualify different races of men for different climates, is a ſubject to which little attention has been given. It lies too far out of ſight to expect

* As the Europeans loſe vigour by the heat of the climate, the free negroes, eſpecially thoſe in the mountains, are the ſafeguard of the iſland; and it was by their means chiefly, that a number of rebellious negro ſlaves were ſubdued in the year 1760.

a complete discovery; but facts carefully collected might afford some glimmering of light. In that view, I mention the following fact. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Senaar in Africa are true Negroes, a jet black complexion, thick lips, flat nose, curled woolly hair. The country itself is the hottest in the world. From the report of a late traveller, they are admirably protected by nature against the violence of the heat. Their skin is to the touch remarkably cooler than that of an European; and is so in reality, no less than two degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer. The young women there are highly prized by the Turks for that quality.

Thus it appears, that there are different races of men fitted by nature for different climates. Upon examination, another fact will perhaps also appear, that the natural productions of each climate make the most wholesome food for the people who are fitted to live in it. Between the tropics, the natives live chiefly on fruits, seeds, and roots; and it is the opinion of the most knowing naturalists, that such food is of all the most wholesome for the torrid zone; comprehending the hot plants, which grow there to perfection, and tend greatly to fortify the stomach. In a temperate climate, a mixture of animal and vegetable food is held to be the most wholesome; and there both animals and vegetables abound. In a cold climate, animals are in plenty, but few vegetables that can serve for food to man. What physicians pronounce upon

that

that head, I know not; but, if we dare venture a conjecture from analogy, animal food will be found the moſt wholeſome for ſuch as are fitted by nature to live in a cold climate.

M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whoſe progeny can alſo procreate, are of one ſpecies, concludes, that all men are of one race or ſpecies; and endeavours to ſupport that favourite opinion, by aſcribing to the climate, to food, or to other accidental cauſes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he ſeriouſly of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cauſe, can account for the copper colour and ſmooth chin univerſal among the Americans, the prominence of the *pudenda* univerſal among Hottentot women, or the black nipple no leſs univerſal among female Samoides? The thick fogs of the iſland St Thomas may relax the fibres of the natives, but cannot make them more rigid than they are naturally. Whence, then, the difference with reſpect to rigidity of fibres between them and Europeans, but from original nature? Can one hope for belief in aſcribing to climate the low ſtature of the Eſquimaux, the ſmallneſs of their feet, or the overgrown ſize of their head; or in aſcribing to climate the low ſtature of the Laplanders*, and their ugly viſage. Lapland is in-

 deed

* By late accounts, it appears that the Laplanders are originally Huns. Pare Hel, an Hungarian, made lately this diſcovery, when ſent to Lapland for making aſtronomical obſervations.

deed piercingly cold; but ſo is Finland, and the northern parts of Norway, the inhabitants of which are tall, comely, and well proportioned. The black colour of negroes, thick lips, flat noſe, criſped woolly hair, and rank ſmell, diſtinguiſh them from every other race of men. The Abyſſinians, on the contrary, are tall and well made, their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large, and of a ſparkling black, lips thin, a noſe rather high than flat. There is no ſuch difference of climate between Abyſſinia and Negroland, as to produce theſe ſtriking differences. At any rate, there muſt be a conſiderable mixture both of ſoil and climate in theſe extenſive regions; and yet not the leaſt mixture is perceived in the people.

If the climate have any commanding influence, it muſt be diſplayed upon the complexion chiefly; and in that article, accordingly, our author exults. "Man," ſays he, "white in Europe, black in "Africa, yellow in Aſia, and red in America, is "ſtill the ſame animal, tinged only with the co-"lour of the climate. Where the heat is exceſ-"ſive, as in Guinea and Senegal, the people are "perfectly black; where leſs exceſſive, as in Abyſ-"ſinia, the people are leſs black; where it is more "temperate, as in Barbary and in Arabia, they "are brown; and where mild, as in Europe and "Leſſer Aſia, they are fair *." But here he triumphs without a victory: he is forced to ac-

knowledge,

* Book v.

knowledge, that the Samoides, Laplanders, and Greenlanders, are of a ſallow complexion; for which he has the following ſalvo, that the extremities of heat and of cold produce nearly the ſame effects on the ſkin. But he is totally ſilent upon a fact that alone overturns his whole ſyſtem of colour, viz. that all Americans, without exception, are of a copper colour, though in that vaſt continent there is every variety of climate. The ſouthern Chineſe are white, though in the neighbourhood of the torrid zone; and women of faſhion in the iſland Otaheité, who cover themſelves from the ſun, have the European complexion. Neither doth the black colour of ſome Africans, nor the brown colour of others, correſpond to the climate. The people of the deſart of Zaara, commonly termed Lower Ethiopia, though expoſed to the vertical rays of the ſun in a burning ſand yielding not in heat even to Guinea, are of a tawny colour, far from being jet-black like negroes. The natives of Monomotapa are perfectly black, with criſped woolly hair, though the ſouthern parts of that extenſive kingdom are in a temperate climate. And the Caffres, even thoſe who live near the Cape of Good Hope, are the ſame ſort of people. The heat of Abyſſinia approacheth nearer to that of Guinea; and yet, as mentioned above, the inhabitants are not black. Nor will our author's ingenious obſervation concerning the extremities of heat and cold, account for the ſallow complexion

of the Samoïdes, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders and northern Norwegians live in a climate no leſs cold than that of the people mentioned, and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I ſay more, there are many inſtances of races of people preſerving their original colour in climates very different from their own; and not a ſingle inſtance of the contrary, as far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Pennſylvania, without any viſible change of colour: they continue jet-black as originally. The Moors in Hindoſtan retain their natural colour, though tranſplanted there more than three centuries ago. And the Mogul family continue white, like their anceſtors the Tartars, though they have reigned in Hindoſtan above four centuries. Shaw, in his travels through Barbary, mentions a people inhabiting the mountains of Aureſs, bordering upon Algiers on the ſouth, who appeared to be of a different race from the Moors. Their complexion, far from ſwarthy, is fair and ruddy; and their hair a deep yellow, inſtead of being dark, as among the neighbouring Moors. He conjectures them to be a remnant of the Vandals, perhaps the tribe mentioned by Procopius in his firſt book of the Vandalic war. If the European complexion be proof againſt a hot climate for a thouſand years, I pronounce that it will never yield to climate. In the ſuburbs of Cochin, a town in Malabar, there is a colony of induſtrious Jews of the

the ſame complexion they have in Europe. They pretend that they were eſtabliſhed there during the captivity of Babylon: it is certain that they have been many ages in that country. Thoſe who aſcribe all to the ſun, ought to conſider how little probable it is, that the colour it impreſſes on the parents ſhould be communicated to their infant children, who never ſaw the ſun: I ſhould be as ſoon induced to believe, with a German naturaliſt whoſe name has eſcaped me, that the Negro colour is owing to an ancient cuſtom in Africa of dying the ſkin black. Let a European for years expoſe himſelf to the ſun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown, his children will nevertheleſs have the ſame complexion with thoſe in Europe. The Hottentots are continually at work, and have been for ages, to darken their complexion; but that operation has no effect on their children. From the action of the ſun, is it poſſible to explain why a Negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy ſkin, which turns jet-black the eighth or ninth day *?

Different tribes are diſtinguiſhable no leſs by internal diſpoſition than by external figure. Nations are for the moſt part ſo blended by war, by commerce, or by other means, that vain would be the attempt to trace out an original character in any cultivated nation. But there are ſavage tribes,

 which,

* Different flowers derive their colour from nature, and preſerve the ſame colour in every climate. What reaſon is there to believe, that climate ſhould have greater influence upon the colour of men than of flowers?

which, as far as can be diſcovered, continue to this day pure without mixture, which act by inſtinct not art, which have not learned to diſguiſe their paſſions: to ſuch I confine the inquiry. There is no propenſity in human nature more general than averſion from ſtrangers, as will be made evident afterward *. And yet ſome nations muſt be excepted, not indeed many in number, who are remarkably kind to ſtrangers; by which circumſtance they appear to be of a ſingular race. In order to ſet the exceptions in a clear light, a few inſtances ſhall be premiſed of the general propenſity. The nations that may be the moſt relied on for an original character, are iſlanders at a diſtance from the continent and from each other. Among ſuch, great variety of character is found. Some iſlands adjacent to New Guinea are inhabited by Negroes, a bold, miſchievous, untractable race; always ready to attack ſtrangers when they approach the ſhore. The people of New Zealand are of a large ſize and of a hoarſe voice. They appeared ſhy according to Taſman's account. Some of them, however, ventured on board in order to trade; but finding opportunity, they ſurpriſed ſeven of his men in a ſhallop, and without the ſlighteſt provocation killed three of them, the reſt having eſcaped by ſwimming. The iſland called *Recreation*, 16th degree ſouthern latitude, and 148th of longitude weſt from London, was diſcovered in

* Book ii. Sketch 1.

in Roggewein's voyage. Upon ſight of the ſhips, the natives flocked to the ſhore with long pikes. The crew made good their landing, having by fire-arms beat back the natives; who, returning after a ſhort interval, accepted preſents of beads, ſmall looking-glaſſes, and other trinkets, without ſhewing the leaſt fear: they even aſſiſted the crew in gathering herbs for thoſe who were afflicted with the ſcurvy. Some of the crew traverſing the iſland in great ſecurity, and truſting to ſome natives who led the way, were carried into a deep valley ſurrounded with rocks; where they were inſtantly attacked on every ſide with large ſtones: with difficulty they made their eſcape, but not without leaving ſeveral dead upon the field. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South Sea, an iſland was diſcovered, which he named *Diſappointment*. The ſhore was covered with natives in arms to prevent landing. They were black, and without clothing, except what covered the parts that nature teaches to hide. But a ſpecimen is ſufficient here, as the ſubject will be fully illuſtrated in the ſketch referred to above.

The kindneſs of ſome tribes to ſtrangers deſerves more attention, being not a little ſingular. Gonneville, commander of a French ſhip, in a voyage to the Eaſt Indies, in the year 1503, was driven by a tempeſt into an unknown country, and continued there ſix months, while his veſſel was refitting. The manners he deſcribes were in all appearance original.

original. The natives had not made a greater progreſs in the arts of life, than the ſavage Canadians have done; ill clothed, and worſe lodged, having no light in their cabins but what came in through a hole in the roof. They were divided into ſmall tribes, governed each by a king, who, though neither better clothed nor lodged than others, had power of life and death over his ſubjects. They were a ſimple and peaceable people, and in a manner worſhipped the French, providing them with neceſſaries, and in return thankfully receiving knives, hatchets, ſmall looking-glaſſes, and other ſuch baubles. In a part of California, the men go naked, and are fond of feathers and ſhells. They are governed by a king with great mildneſs, and of all ſavages are the moſt humane, even to ſtrangers. An iſland diſcovered in the South Sea by Taſman, 21ſt degree of ſouthern latitude, and 177th of longitude weſt from London, was called by him *Amſterdam*. The natives, who had no arms, offenſive or defenſive, treated the Dutch with great civility, except in being given to pilfering. At no great diſtance, another iſland was diſcovered, named *Anamocha* by the natives, and *Rotterdam* by Taſman, poſſeſſed by a people reſembling thoſe laſt mentioned, particularly in having no arms. The Dutch, ſailing round the iſland, ſaw abundance of cocoa-trees planted in rows, with many other fruit-bearing trees, kept in excellent order. Commodore Roggewein, commander of a Dutch fleet, diſcovered,

vered, *anno* 1721, a new iſland in the South Sea, inhabited by a people lively, active, and ſwift of foot, of a ſweet and modeſt deportment, but timorous and faint-hearted; for, having on their knees, preſented ſome refreſhments to the Dutch, they retired with precipitation. Numbers of idols cut in ſtone, were placed along the coaſt, in the figure of men with large ears, and the head covered with a crown; the whole nicely proportioned and highly finiſhed. They fled for refuge to theſe idols: and they could do no better; for they had no weapons either offenſive or defenſive. Neither was there any appearance of government or ſubordination; for they all ſpoke and acted with equal freedom. This iſland, ſituated 28 degrees 30 minutes ſouthern latitude, and about 115 degrees of longitude weſt from London, is by the Dutch called *Eaſter* or *Paſch Iſland* *. The Commodore directing his courſe north-weſt, diſcovered in the ſouthern latitude of 12 degrees, and in the longitude of 190, a cluſter of iſlands, planted with variety of fruit-trees, and bearing herbs, corn, and roots, in plenty. When the ſhips approached the ſhore, the inhabitants came in their canoes with fiſh, cocoa-nuts, Indian figs, and other refreſhments; for which they received ſmall looking-glaſſes, ſtrings of beads, and other toys. Theſe iſlands were well peopled: many thouſands throng-

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* The women were very loving, enticing the Dutchmen by every female art to the moſt intimate familiarity.

ed to the ſhore to ſee the ſhips, the men being armed with bows and arrows, and appearing to be governed by a chieftain: they had the complexion of Europeans, only a little more ſun-burnt. They were briſk and lively, treating one another with civility; and in their behaviour expreſſing nothing wild nor ſavage. Their bodies were not painted; but handſomely clothed, from the middle downwards, with ſilk fringes in neat folds. Large hats ſcreened the face from the ſun, and collars of odoriferous flowers ſurrounded the neck. The view of the country is charming, finely diverſified with hills and vallies. Some of the iſlands are ten miles in circumference, ſome fifteen, ſome twenty. The hiſtorian adds, that theſe iſlanders are in all reſpects the moſt civilized and the beſt tempered people he diſcovered in the South Sea. Far from being afraid, they treated the Dutch with great kindneſs; and expreſſed much regret at their departure. Theſe iſlands got the name of *Bowman's Iſlands*, from the captain of the Tienhoven, who diſcovered them. In Commodore Byron's voyage to the South Sea, while he was paſſing through the Straits of Magellan, ſome natives approached in their canoes; and upon invitation came on board, without fear, or even ſhyneſs. They at the ſame time appeared groſsly ſtupid; and particularly, could not comprehend the uſe of knives, offered to them in a preſent. In another part of the Straits, the natives were highly delighted with

with preſents of the ſame kind. M. Bougainville, in his voyage round the world, deſcribes a people in the Straits of Magellan, probably thoſe laſt mentioned, as of ſmall ſtature, tame and peaceable, having ſcarce any clothing in a climate bitterly cold. Commodore Byron diſcovered another iſland in the South Sea covered with trees, which was named *Byron Iſland.* The inhabitants were neither ſavage nor ſhy, trafficking freely with the crew, though they ſeemed addicted to thieving. One of them ventured into the ſhip. After leaving Otaheité, Mr Banks and Dr Solander, ſailing weſtward, diſcovered a cluſter of iſlands, termed by them *Society Iſlands:* the natives were extremely civil, and appeared to have no averſion to ſtrangers. The iſland of Oahena, north-weſt from that of Otaheité, is a delightful ſpot; the ſoil fertile, and the ſhores adorned with fruit-trees of various kinds. The inhabitants are well proportioned, with regular engaging features; the women uncommonly beautiful and delicate. The inhabitants behaved with great hoſpitality and probity to the crew of the ſhip in which theſe gentlemen lately made a voyage round the world.

To find the inhabitants of theſe remote iſlands differing ſo widely from the reſt of the world, as to have no averſion to ſtrangers, but on the contrary ſhowing great kindneſs to the firſt they probably ever ſaw, is a ſingular phenomenon. It is vain here to talk of climate; becauſe in all climates

we

we find an averſion to ſtrangers. From the inſtances given above, let us ſelect two iſlands, or two cluſters of iſlands, ſuppoſe for example Bowman's iſlands inhabited by Whites, and thoſe adjacent to New Guinea inhabited by Blacks. Kindneſs to ſtrangers is the national character of the former, and hatred to ſtrangers is the national character of the latter. Virtues and vices of individuals depend on cauſes ſo various, and ſo variable, as to give an impreſſion of chance more than of deſign. We are not always certain of uniformity in the conduct even of the ſame perſon; far leſs of different perſons, however intimately related: how ſmall is the chance, that ſons will inherit their father's virtues or vices? In moſt countries, a ſavage who has no averſion to ſtrangers, nor to neighbouring clans, would be noted as ſingular: to find the ſame quality in every one of his children, would be ſurpriſing: and would be ſtill more ſo, were it diffuſed widely through a multitude of his deſcendents. Yet a family is as nothing compared with a whole nation; and when we find kindneſs to ſtrangers a national character in certain tribes, we reject with diſdain the notion of chance, and perceive intuitively that effects ſo regular and permanent muſt be owing to a conſtant and invariable cauſe. Such effects cannot be accidental, more than the uniformity of male and female births in all countries and at all times. They cannot be accounted for from education nor from example;

example; which indeed may contribute to ſpread a certain faſhion or certain manners, but cannot be their fundamental cauſe. Where the greater part of a nation is of one character, education and example may extend it over the whole; but the character of that greater part can have no foundation but nature. What reſource then have we for explaining the oppoſite manners of the iſlanders above mentioned, but that they are of different races?

The ſame doctrine is ſtrongly confirmed upon finding courage or cowardice to be a national character. Individuals differ widely as to theſe; but a national character of courage or cowardice muſt depend on a permanent and invariable cauſe. I therefore proceed to inſtances of national courage and cowardice, that the reader may judge for himſelf, whether he can diſcover any other cauſe for ſuch ſteady uniformity but diverſity of race.

The northern nations of Europe and Aſia have at all times been remarkable for courage. Lucan endeavours to account for the courage of the Scandinavians from a firm belief, univerſal among them, that they will be happy in another world,

Vobis auctoribus, umbræ,
Non tacitas Erebi ſedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis ſi cognita) vitæ
Mors media eſt. Certe populi, quos deſpicit Arctos,
Felices errore ſuo; quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus. Inde ruendi

In

In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis *. Luc. lib. i.

Pretty well reaſoned for a poet! but among all nations the ſoul is believed to be immortal, though all nations have not the courage of the Scandinavians. The Caledonians were eminent for that virtue; and yet had no ſuch opinion of happineſs after death, as to make them fond of dying. Souls after death were believed to have but a gloomy ſort of exiſtence, like what is deſcribed by Homer †. Their courage therefore was a gift of nature, not of faith. The people of Malacca and of the neighbouring iſlands, who are all of the ſame race, and ſpeak the ſame language, are fierce, turbulent, and bold above any other of the

* "If dying mortals dooms they ſing aright,
"No ghoſts deſcend to dwell in endleſs night;
"No parting ſouls to griſly Pluto go,
"Nor ſeek the dreary ſilent ſhades below;
"But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
"And other bodies in new worlds they find.
"Thus life for ever runs its endleſs race,
"And, like a line, Death but divides the ſpace;
"A ſtop which can but for a moment laſt,
"A point between the future and the paſt.
"Thrice happy they beneath the northern ſkies,
"Who that worſt fear, the fear of death diſpiſe;
"Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
"But ruſh undaunted on the pointed ſteel;
"Provoke approaching fate, and bravely ſcorn
"To ſpare that life which muſt ſo ſoon return."

Rowe.

† Odyſſey, b. xi.

the human ſpecies, though they inhabit the torrid zone, held commonly to be the land of cowardice. They never obſerve a treaty of peace when they have any temptation to break it; and are perpetually at war with their neighbours, or with one another. Inſtances there are of twenty-five or thirty of them in a boat, with no other weapons but poniards, venturing to attack a European ſhip of war. Theſe men inhabit a fertile country, which ſhould naturally render them indolent and effeminate; a country abounding with variety of exquiſite fruits and odoriferous flowers in endleſs ſucceſſion, ſufficient to ſink any other people into voluptuouſneſs. They are a remarkable exception from the obſervation of Herodotus, "That it is not given by the "gods to any country, to produce rich crops and "warlike men." This inſtance, with what are to follow, ſhow paſt contradiction, that a hot climate is no enemy to courage. The inhabitants of New Zealand are the moſt intrepid, and the leaſt apt to be alarmed at danger. The Giagas are a fierce and bold people in the midſt of the torrid zone of Africa: and ſo are the Anſieki, bordering on Loango. The wild Arabs, who live moſtly within the torrid zone, are bold and reſolute, holding war to be intended for them by Providence. The African negroes, though living in the hotteſt known country, are yet ſtout and vigorous, and the moſt healthy people in the univerſe. I need ſcarcely mention again the Negroes adjacent to New Gui-

nea, who have an uncommon degree of boldnef and ferocity. But I mention with pleafure the ifland Otaheité, difcovered in the South Sea by Wallis, becaufe the inhabitants are not exceeded by any other people in firmnefs of mind. Though the Dolphin was probably the firft fhip they had ever feen, yet they refolutely marched to the fhore, and attacked her with a fhower of ftones. Some volleys of fmall fhot made them give way: but returning with redoubled ardour, they did not totally lofe heart till the great guns thundered in their ears. Nor even then did they run away in terror; but advifing together, they affumed looks of peace, and fignified a willingnefs to forbear hoftilities. Peace being fettled, they were fingularly kind to our people, fupplying their wants, and mixing with them in friendly intercourfe *. When Mr Banks and Dr Solander were on the coaft of New Holland, the natives, feeing fome of our men fifhing near the fhore, fingled out a number of their own equal to thofe in the boat, who marching down to the water-edge, challenged the ftrangers to fight them; an inftance of true heroic courage. The people in that part of New Holland muft be of a race very different from thofe whom Dampier faw.

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* It is remarkable, that thefe people roaft their meat with hot ftones, as the Caledonians did in the days of Offian.

A noted author* holds all ſavages to be bold, impetuous, and proud; aſſigning for a cauſe, their equality and independence. As in that obſervation he ſeems to lay no weight on climate, and as little on original diſpoſition, it is with regret, that my ſubject leads me in this public manner to differ from him with reſpect to the latter. The character he gives in general to all ſavages, is indeed applicable to many ſavage tribes, our European forefathers in particular; but not to all. It but faintly ſuits even the North-American ſavages, whom our author ſeems to have had in his eye; for in war they carefully avoid open force, relying chiefly on ſtratagem and ſurpriſe. They value themſelves, it is ſaid, upon ſaving men; but as that motive was no leſs weighty in Europe, and indeed every where, the proneneſs of our forefathers to open violence, demonſtrates their ſuperiority in active courage. The following incidents reported by Charlevoix give no favourable idea of North-American boldneſs. The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was in the year 1690 attacked by ſome Iroquois. They approached ſilently, preparing to ſcale the paliſade, when a muſket-ſhot or two made them retire. Advancing a ſecond time, they were again repulſed, wondering that they could diſcover none but a woman, who was ſeen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as reſolute as if ſupported

* Mr Ferguſon.

by a numerous garrison. The hopes of storming a place without men to defend it, occasioned reiterated attacks. After two days siege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the same nation appeared before the fort so unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to shut the gate. With the young woman there was not a soul but one raw soldier. She shewed herself with her assistant, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another; changing her dress frequently, in order to give some appearance of a garrison, and always firing opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without success.

But if the Americans abound not with active courage, their passive courage is beyond conception. Every writer expatiates on the torments they endure, not only patiently, but with singular fortitude; deriding their tormentors, and braving their utmost cruelty. North-American savages differ indeed so widely from those formerly in Europe, as to render it highly improbable that they are of the same race. Passive courage they have even to a wonder; but abound not in active courage: our European forefathers, on the contrary, were much more remarkable for the latter than for the former. The Kamskatkans in every article resemble the North-Americans. In war they are full of stratagem, but never attack openly if they can avoid it. When victorious, they murder without

out mercy, burn their priſoners alive, or tear out their bowels. If they be ſurrounded and cannot eſcape, they turn deſperate, cut the throats of their wives and children, and throw themſelves into the midſt of their enemies. And yet theſe people are abundantly free. Their want of active courage is the more ſurpriſing, becauſe they make no difficulty of ſuicide when they fall into any diſtreſs. But their paſſive courage is equal to that of the Americans: when tortured in order to extort a confeſſion, they ſhow the utmoſt firmneſs; and ſeldom diſcover more than what they freely confeſs at their firſt examination.

The ſavages of Guiana are indolent, good-natured, ſubmiſſive, and a little cowardly; though they are on a footing with the North-Americans in equality and independence. The inhabitants of the Marian or Ladrone iſlands live in a ſtate of perfect equality: every man avenges the injury done to himſelf; and even children are regardleſs of their parents. Yet theſe people are great cowards: in battle indeed they utter loud ſhouts; but it is more to animate themſelves than to terrify the enemy. The Negroes on the ſlave-coaſt of Guinea are good-natured and obliging; but not remarkable for courage *. The Laplanders are of all men

 the

* The Cormantees, a tribe of Negroes on the Gold Coaſt, are indeed brave and intrepid. When kindly treated in the Weſt Indies, they make excellent ſervants. The Negroes of Senegal are remarkable in the Weſt Indies for fidelity and good underſtanding.

the moſt timid: upon the ſlighteſt ſurpriſe they fall down in a ſwoon, like the feebleſt female in England: thunder deprives them of their five ſenſes. The face of their country is nothing but rocks covered with moſs: it would be ſcarce habitable but for rein-deer, on which the Laplanders chiefly depend for food.

The Macaſſars, inhabitants of the iſland Celebes in the torrid zone, differ from all other people. They have active courage above even the fierceſt European ſavages; and they equal the North-American ſavages in paſſive courage. During the reign of Cha Naraya King of Siam, a ſmall party of Macaſſars who were in the King's pay having revolted, it required a whole army of Siamites to ſubdue them. Four Macaſſars, taken alive, were cruelly tortured. They were beaten to mummy with cudgels, iron pins were thruſt under their nails, all their fingers broken, the fleſh burnt off their arms, and their temples ſqueezed between boards; yet they bore all with unparalleled firmneſs. They even refuſed to be converted to Chriſtianity, though the Jeſuits offered to intercede for them. A tiger, let looſe, having faſtened on the foot of one of them, the man never once offered to draw it away. Another, without uttering a word, bore the tiger breaking the bones of his back. A third ſuffered the animal to lick the blood from his face, without ſhrinking, or turning away his eyes. During the whole of that horrid

horrid ſpectacle, they never once bewailed themſelves, nor were heard to utter a groan.

The frigidity of the North Americans, men and women, differing in that particular from all other ſavages, is to me evidence of a ſeparate race. And I am the more confirmed in that opinion, when I find a celebrated writer, whoſe abilities no perſon calls in queſtion, endeavouring in vain to aſcribe that circumſtance to moral and phyſical cauſes. *Si Pergama dextra defendi poſſet.*

In concluding from the foregoing facts that there are different races of men, I reckon upon ſtrenuous oppoſition; not only from men biaſſed againſt what is new or uncommon, but from numberleſs ſedate writers, who hold every diſtinguiſhing mark, internal as well as external, to be the effect of ſoil and climate. Againſt the former, patience is my only ſhield; but I cannot hope for any converts to a new opinion, without removing the arguments urged by the latter.

Among the endleſs number of writers who aſcribe ſupreme efficacy to the climate, Vitruvius ſhall take the lead. The firſt chapter of his ſixth book is entirely employed in deſcribing the influence of climate on the conſtitution and temper. The following is the ſubſtance. "For the ſun, "where he draws out a moderate degree of moi-"ſture, preſerves the body in a temperate ſtate; "but where his rays are more fierce, he drains the "body of moiſture. In very cold regions, where "the moiſture is not ſucked up by the heat, the

" body ſucking in the dewy air, riſes to a great ſize, " and has a deep tone of voice. Northern nations " accordingly, from cold and moiſture, have large " bodies, a white ſkin, red hair, gray eyes, and " much blood. Nations, on the contrary, near " the equator, are of ſmall ſtature, tawny com- " plexion, curled hair, black eyes, ſlender legs, " and little blood. From want of blood they are " cowardly: but they bear fevers well, their con- " ſtitution being formed by heat. Northern na- " tions, on the contrary, ſink under a fever; but, " from the abundance of blood, they are bold in " war." In another part of the chapter he adds, " From the thinneſs of the air and enlivening " heat, ſouthern nations are quick in thought, " and acute in reaſoning. Thoſe in the north, on " the contrary, who breathe a thick and cold air, " are dull and ſtupid." And this he illuſtrates from ſerpents, which in ſummer-heat are active and vigorous; but in winter, become torpid and immoveable. He then proceeds as follows: " It " is then not at all ſurpriſing, that heat ſhould " ſharpen the underſtanding, and cold blunt it. " Thus the ſouthern nations are ready in counſel, " and acute in thought; but make no figure in " war, their courage being exhauſted by the heat " of the ſun. The inhabitants of cold climates, " prone to war, ruſh on with vehemence without " the leaſt fear; but are ſlow of underſtanding." Then he proceeds to account, upon the ſame principle, for the ſuperiority of the Romans in arms, and

and for the extent of their empire. " For as the " planet Jupiter lies between the fervid heat of " Mars and the bitter cold of Saturn; ſo Italy, in " the middle of the temperate zone, poſſeſſes all " that is favourable in either climate. Thus by " conduct in war, the Romans overcome the im- " petuous force of northern barbarians; and by " vigour of arms confound the politic ſchemes of " her ſouthern neighbours. Divine Providence " appears to have placed the Romans in that hap- " py ſituation, in order that they might become " maſters of the world."——Vegetius accounts for the different characters of men from the ſame principle: " Omnes nationes quæ vicinæ ſunt ſo- " li, nimio calore ſiccatas, amplius quidem ſapere, " ſed minus habere ſanguinis dicunt: ac prop- " terea conſtantiam ac fiduciam cominùs non ha- " bere pugnandi, quia metuunt vulnera, qui ſe " exiguum ſanguinem habere noverunt. Contrà, " ſeptentrionales populi, remoti a ſolis ardoribus, " inconſultiores quidem, ſed tamen largo ſanguine " redundantes, ſunt ad bella promptiſſimi *."——

Servius,

* " Nations near the ſun, being exſiccated by exceſſive " heat, are ſaid to have a greater acuteneſs of underſtanding, " but leſs blood: on which account, in fighting they are de- " ficient in firmneſs and reſolution; and dread the being " wounded, as conſcious of their want of blood. The north- " ern people, on the contrary, removed from the ardor of the " ſun, are leſs remarkable for the powers of the mind; but " abounding in blood, they are prone to war."—Lib. i. cap. 2. De re militari.

Servius, in his commentary on the Æneid of Virgil *, ſays, " Afri verſipelles, Græci leves, Gal-
" li pigrioris ingenii, quod natura climatum fa-
" cit. †"——Mallet, in the introduction to his Hiſtory of Denmark, copying Vitruvius and Vegetius, ſtrains hard to derive ferocity and courage in the Scandinavians from the climate: " A
" great abundance of blood, fibres ſtrong and
" rigid, vigour inexhauſtible, formed the tempe-
" rament of the Germans, the Scandinavians, and
" of all other people who live under the ſame cli-
" mate. Robuſt by the climate, and hardened
" with exerciſe; confidence in bodily ſtrength
" formed their character. A man who relies on
" his own force, cannot bear reſtraint, nor ſubmiſ-
" ſion to the arbitrary will of another. As he has
" no occaſion for artifice, he is altogether a ſtran-
" ger to fraud or diſſimulation. As he is always
" ready to repel force by force, he is not ſuſpi-
" cious nor diſtruſtful. His courage prompts him
" to be faithful in friendſhip, generous, and even
" magnanimous. He is averſe to occupations that
" require more aſſiduity than action; becauſe mo-
" derate exerciſe affords not to his blood and
" fibres that degree of agitation which ſuits them.
" Hence his diſguſt at arts and manufactures; and,
" as

* Æn. lib. vi. ver. 724.

† " The Africans are ſubtle and full of ſtratagem, the
" Greeks are fickle, the Gauls ſlow of parts, all which diver-
" ſities are occaſioned by the climate."

" as paſſion labours to juſtify itſelf, hence his opi-
" nion, that war only and hunting are honourable
" profeſſions." Before ſubſcribing to this doctrine, I wiſh to be ſatisfied of a few particulars. Is our author certain, that inhabitants of cold countries have the greateſt quantity of blood? And is he certain, that courage is in every man proportioned to the quantity of his blood *? Is he alſo certain, that ferocity and love of war did univerſally obtain among the northern Europeans? Tacitus gives a very different character of the Chauci, who inhabited the north of Germany: " Tam immenſum terrarum ſpatium non tenent
" tantùm Chauci, ſed et implent: populus inter
" Germanos nobiliſſimus, quique magnitudinem
" ſuam malit juſtitiâ tueri. Sine cupiditate, ſine
" impotentia,

* At that rate, the loſs of an ounce of blood may turn the balance. Courage makes an eſſential ingredient in magnanimity and heroiſm: are ſuch elevated virtues corporeal merely? is the mind admitted for no ſhare? This indeed would be a mortifying circumſtance in the human race. But even ſuppoſing courage to be corporeal merely, it is however far from being proportioned to the quantity of blood: a greater quantity than can be circulated freely and eaſily by the force of the heart and arteries, becomes a diſeaſe, termed a *plethora*. Bodily courage is chiefly founded on the ſolids. When, by the vigour and elaſticity of the heart and arteries, a briſk circulation of blood is produced, a man is in good ſpirits, lively and bold; a greater quantity of blood, inſtead of raiſing courage to a higher pitch, never fails to produce ſluggiſhneſs and depreſſion of mind.

" impotentia, quieti, ſecretique, nulla provocant " bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. " Idque præcipuum virtutis ac virium argumen- " tum eſt, quod ut ſuperiores agunt, non per inju- " rias aſſequuntur. Prompta tamen omnibus ar- " ma, ac, ſi res poſcat, exercitus *." Again, with reſpect to the Arii, he bears witneſs, that beſide ferocity, and ſtrength of body, they were full of fraud and artifice. Neither do the Laplanders nor Samoides correſpond to his deſcription, being remarkable for puſillanimity, though inhabitants of a bitter cold country †. Laſtly, a cold climate doth not always make the inhabitants averſe to occupations that require more aſſiduity than action: the people of Iceland formerly were much addicted to ſtudy and literature; and for many centuries

* " So immenſe an extent of country is not poſſeſſed only, " but filled by the Chauci; a race of people the nobleſt " among the Germans, and who chooſe to maintain their " grandeur by juſtice rather than by violence. Confident of " their ſtrength, without the thirſt of increaſing their poſſeſ- " ſions, they live in quietneſs and ſecurity: they kindle no " wars; they are ſtrangers to plunder and to rapine; and " what is the chief evidence both of their power and of their " virtue, without oppreſſing any, they have attained a ſupe- " riority over all. Yet, when occaſion requires, they are " prompt to take the field; and their troops are ſpeedily rai- " ſed."—De moribus Germanorum, cap. 35.

† Scheffer, in his Hiſtory of Lapland, differs widely from the authors mentioned; for he aſcribes the puſillanimity of the Laplanders, to the coldneſs of their climate.

centuries were the chief hiſtorians of the north. They are to this day fond of cheſs, and ſpend much of their time in that amuſement: there is ſcarce a peaſant but who has a cheſs-board and men. Mr Banks and Dr Solander report, that the peaſants of Iceland are addicted to hiſtory, not only of their own country, but of that of Europe*.

The

* A French author[a] upon this ſubject obſerves, that, like plants, we are formed by the climate; and that as fruits derive their taſte from the ſoil, men derive their character and diſpoſition from the air they breathe. "The Engliſh," ſays he, "owe to the fogginess of their air, not only their rich "paſture, but the gloomineſs of their diſpoſition; which "makes them violent in their paſſions, becauſe they purſue "with ardour every object that relieves them from melan-"choly. By that gloomineſs they are exhauſted, and render-"ed inſenſible to the pleaſures of life. Depreſſed in mind "they are unable to endure pain; as it requires ſtrength of "mind to ſuffer without extreme impatience. They are ne-"ver content with their lot, hating tranquillity as much as "they love liberty." Where a fact is known to be true, any thing will paſs for a cauſe; and ſhallow writers deal in ſuch cauſes. I need no better inſtance than the preſent: for, if I miſtake not, effects directly oppoſite may be drawn from the cauſe aſſigned by this writer; as plauſible at leaſt, I do not ſay better founded on truth. I will make an attempt: it may amuſe the reader. And to avoid diſputing about facts, I ſhall ſuppoſe the fogginess of the fens of Lincoln and Eſſex to be general, which he erroneouſly ſeems to believe. From that ſuppoſition I reaſon thus: "The fogginess of the En-"gliſh air, makes the people dull and languid. They ſuffer "under

[a] Lettres d'un François.

The moſt formidable antagoniſt remains ſtill on hand, the celebrated Monteſquieu, who is a great champion for the climate; obſerving, that in hot climates people are timid like old men, and in cold climates bold like young men. This in effect is to maintain, that the torrid zone is an unfit habitation for men; that they degenerate in it, loſe their natural vigour, and even in youth become like old men. That author certainly intended not any imputation on Providence; and yet, doth it not look like an imputation, to maintain, that ſo large a portion of the globe is fit for beaſts only, not for men? Some men are naturally fitted for a temperate or for a cold climate: he ought to have explained, why other men may not be fitted for a hot climate. There does not appear any oppoſition between heat and courage, more than between cold and courage: on the contrary, courage ſeems more

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more connected with the former than with the latter. The fierceſt and boldeſt animals, the lion, for example, the tiger, the panther, thrive beſt in the hotteſt climates. The great condor of Peru, in the torrid zone, is a bird not a little fierce and rapacious. A lion viſibly degenerates in a temperate climate. The lions of Mount Atlas, which is ſometimes crowned with ſnow, have not the boldneſs, nor the force, nor the ferocity of ſuch as tread the burning ſands of Zaara and Biledulgerid. This reſpectable author, it is true, endeavours to ſupport his opinion from natural cauſes. Theſe are ingenious and plauſible; but unluckily they are contradicted by ſtubborn facts; which will appear upon a very ſlight ſurvey of this globe. The Samoides and Laplanders are living inſtances of uncommon puſillanimity in the inhabitants of a cold climate; and inſtances, not few in number, have been mentioned of warlike people in a hot climate. To theſe I add the Hindoos, whom our author will not admit to have any degree of courage; though he acknowledges, that, prompted by religion, the men voluntarily ſubmit to dreadful tortures, and that even women are ambitious to burn themſelves alive with their deceaſed huſbands. In vain does he endeavour to account for ſuch extraordinary exertions of fortitude, active as well as paſſive, from the power of imagination; as if imagination could operate more forcibly in a woman to burn herſelf alive, than on a man to meet

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that the presumption was supported by inferiority of understanding in the former. But it appears to me doubtful, upon second thoughts, whether that inferiority may not be occasioned by their condition. A man never ripens in judgment nor in prudence but by exercising these powers. At home, the negroes have little occasion to exercise either: they live upon fruits and roots, which grow without culture: they need little clothing: and they erect houses without trouble or art *. Abroad, they are miserable slaves, having no encouragement either to think or to act. Who can say how far they might improve in a state of freedom, were they obliged, like Europeans, to procure bread with the sweat of their brows? Some nations in Negroland, particularly that of Whidah, have made great improvements in government, in police, and in manners. The Negroes on the Gold coast are naturally gay: they apprehend readily what is said to them, have a good judgment, are equitable in their dealings, and accommodate themselves readily to the manners of strangers. And yet, after all, there seems to be some original difference between the Negroes and Hindoos. In no country are food and raiment procured with less labour than in the southern parts of Hindostan,

* The Negro slaves in Jamaica, who have Sunday only at command for raising food to themselves, live as well, if not better, than the free Negroes who command every day of the week. Such, in the latter, is the effect of indolence from want of occupation.

Hindoſtan, where the heat is great: and yet no people are more induſtrious than the Hindoos.

I ſhall cloſe the ſurvey with ſome inſtances that ſeem to differ widely from the common nature of man. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the heart of Africa, are in effect land-pirates, at war with all the world. They indulge in polygamy; but bury all their children the moment of birth, and chooſe in their ſtead the moſt promiſing children taken in war. There is no principle among animals more prevalent than affection to offſpring: ſuppoſing the Giagas to be born without hands or without feet, would they be more diſtinguiſhable from the reſt of mankind *? To move the Giagas, at firſt, to murder their own children, and to adopt thoſe of ſtrangers, is a proof of ſome original principle peculiar to that people: and the

 continuance

* I have oftener than once doubted whether the authors deſerve credit from whom this account is taken; and, after all, I do not preſs it upon my readers. There is only one conſideration that can bring it within the verge of probability, viz. the little affection that male ſavages have for their new-born children, which appears from the ancient practice of expoſing them. The affection of the mother commences with the birth of the child; and, had ſhe a vote, no infant would ever be deſtroyed. But as the affection of the father begins much later, the practice of deſtroying new-born infants may be thought not altogether incredible in a wandering nation, who live by rapine, and who can provide themſelves with children more eaſily than by the tedious and precarious method of rearing them.

continuance of the ſame practice among the perſons adopted, is a ſtrong inſtance of the force of cuſtom prevailing over one of the moſt vigorous laws of nature. The author of an account of Guiana, mentioning a deadly poiſon compoſed by the natives, ſays, " I do not find, that even " in their wars they ever uſe poiſoned arrows. " And yet it may be wondered, that a people " living under no laws, actuated with no religi- " ous principle, and unreſtrained by the fear of pre- " ſent or future puniſhment, ſhould not ſometimes " employ that fatal poiſon for gratifying hatred, " jealouſy, or revenge. But in a ſtate of nature, " though there are few reſtraints, there are alſo " fewer temptations to vice; and the different " tribes are doubtleſs ſenſible, that poiſoned ar- " rows in war would upon the whole do more " miſchief than good." This writer, it would ſeem, has forgot that proſpects of future good or evil never have influence upon ſavages. Is it his opinion, that fear of future miſchief to themſelves, would make the Negroes of New Guinea abſtain from employing poiſoned arrows againſt their enemies? To account for manners ſo ſingular in the ſavages of Guiana, there is nothing left but original diſpoſition. The Japaneſe reſent injuries in a manner that has not a parallel in any other part of the world: it would be thought inconſiſtent with human nature, were it not well vouched. Others wreak their reſentment on the perſon who affronts them;

them; but an inhabitant of Japan wreaks it on himſelf: he rips up his own belly. Kempfer reports the following inſtance. A gentleman going down the great ſtair of the Emperor's palace, paſſed another going up, and their ſwords happened to claſh. The perſon deſcending took offence: the other excuſed himſelf, ſaying that it was accidental; adding, that the ſwords only were concerned, and that the one was as good as the other. I'll ſhow you the difference, ſays the perſon who began the quarrel: he drew his ſword, and ripped up his own belly. The other, piqued at being thus prevented in revenge, haſtened up with a plate he had in his hand for the Emperor's table; and returning with equal ſpeed, he in like manner ripped up his belly in ſight of his antagoniſt, ſaying, "If I "had not been ſerving my prince, you ſhould not "have got the ſtart of me: but I ſhall die ſatis-"fied, having ſhowed you that my ſword is as "good as yours." The ſame author gives an inſtance of uncommon ferocity in the Japaneſe, blended with manners highly poliſhed. In the midſt of a large company at dinner, a young woman, ſtraining to reach a plate, unwarily ſuffered wind to eſcape. Aſhamed and confounded, ſhe raiſed her breaſts to her mouth, tore them with her teeth, and expired on the ſpot. The Japaneſe are equally ſingular in ſome of their religious opinions. They never ſupplicate the gods in diſtreſs; holding, that as the gods enjoy uninterrupted bliſs,

ſuch ſupplications would be offenſive to them. Their holidays accordingly are dedicated to feaſts, weddings, and all public and private rejoicings. It is delightful to the gods, ſay they, to ſee men happy. They are far from being ſingular in thinking that a benevolent Deity is pleaſed to ſee men happy; but nothing can be more inconſiſtent with the common feelings of men, than to hold, that in diſtreſs it is wrong to ſupplicate the Author of our Being for relief, and that he will be diſpleaſed with ſuch ſupplication. In deep affliction there is certainly no balm equal to that of pouring out the heart to a benevolent Deity, and expreſſing entire reſignation to his will.

In ſupport of the foregoing doctrine, many particulars ſtill more extraordinary might have been quoted from Greek and Roman writers: but truth has no occaſion for artifice; and I would not take advantage of celebrated names to vouch facts that appear incredible or doubtful. The Greeks and Romans made an illuſtrious figure in poetry, rhetoric, and all the fine arts; but they were little better than novices in natural hiſtory. More than half of the globe was to them the *Terra Auſtralis incognita;* and imagination operates without control, when it is not checked by knowledge: the ignorant at the ſame time are delighted with wonders; and the moſt wonderful ſtory is always the moſt welcome. This may ſerve as an apology for ancient writers, even when they relate and believe

facts

facts to us incredible. Men at that period were ignorant in a great meafure of nature, and of the limits of her operations. One conceffion will chearfully be made to me, that the writers mentioned, who report things at fecond-hand, are much more excufable than the earlieft of our modern travellers, who pretend to vouch endlefs wonders from their own knowledge. Natural hiftory, that of man efpecially, is of late years much ripened: no improbable tale is fuffered to pafs without a ftrict examination; and I have been careful to adopt no facts, but what are vouched by late travellers and writers of credit. Were it true what Diodorus Siculus reports, on the authority of Agatharchides of Cnidus, concerning the Ichthyophages on the eaft coaft of Afric, it would be a more pregnant proof of a diftinct race of men, than any I have difcovered. They are defcribed to be fo ftupid, that even when their wives and children are killed in their fight, they ftand infenfible, and give no figns either of anger or of compaffion. This I cannot believe upon fo flight teftimony; efpecially as the Greeks and Romans were at that time extremely credulous, being lefs acquainted with neighbouring nations, than we are with the Antipodes. Varro, in his treatife *De re ruftica*, reports it as an undoubted truth, that in Lufitania mares were impregnated by the weft wind; and both Pliny and Columella are equally pofitive. The Balearic iflands, Majorca, Minorca, Yvica, are

at no great diſtance from Sicily; and yet Diodorus the Sicilian reports of the inhabitants, that at the ſolemnization of marriage all the male friends, and even the houſehold ſervants, enjoyed the bride before the bridegroom was admitted. *Credat Judæus apella.* It would not be much more difficult to make me believe what is ſaid by Pliny of the Blemmyans, that they had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breaſt; or of the Arimaſpi, who had but one eye, placed in the middle of the forehead; or of the Aſtomi, who, having no mouth, could neither eat nor drink, but lived upon ſmelling; or of a thouſand other abſurdities which Pliny relates, with a grave face, in the 6th book of his Natural Hiſtory, cap. 30. and in the 7th book, cap. 2.

Thus, upon an extenſive ſurvey of the inhabited parts of our globe, many nations are found differing ſo widely from each other, not only in complexion, features, ſhape, and other external circumſtances, but in temper and diſpoſition, particularly in two capital articles, courage, and behaviour to ſtrangers, that even the certainty of different races could not make one expect more ſtriking varieties. Doth M. Buffon think it ſufficient to ſay dryly, that ſuch varieties may poſſibly be the effect of climate, or of other accidental cauſes? The preſumption is, that the varieties ſubſiſting at preſent have always ſubſiſted; which ought to be held as true, till poſitive evidence be brought of the

the contrary: inſtead of which we are put off with mere ſuppoſitions and poſſibilities.

But not to reſt entirely upon preſumptive evidence, to me it appears clear from the very frame of the human body, that there muſt be different races of men fitted for different climates. Few animals are more affected than men generally are, not only with change of ſeaſons in the ſame climate, but with change of weather in the ſame ſeaſon. Can ſuch a being be fitted for all climates equally? Impoſſible. A man muſt at leaſt be hardened by nature againſt the ſlighter changes of ſeaſons or weather: he ought to be altogether inſenſible of ſuch changes. Yet from Sir John Pringle's obſervations on the diſeaſes of the army, to go no further, it appears, that even military men, who ought of all to be the hardieſt, are greatly affected by them. Horſes and horned cattle ſleep on the bare ground, wet or dry, without harm, and yet are not made for every climate: can a man be made for every climate, who is ſo much more delicate, that he cannot ſleep on wet ground without hazard of ſome mortal diſeaſe?

But the argument I chiefly rely on is, That were all men of one ſpecies, there never could have exiſted, without a miracle, different kinds, ſuch as exiſt at preſent. Giving allowance for every ſuppoſable variation of climate or of other natural cauſes, what can follow, as obſerved about the dog-kind, but endleſs varieties among individuals,

duals, as among tulips in a garden, ſo as that no individual ſhall reſemble another? Inſtead of which, we find men of different kinds, the individuals of each kind remarkably uniform, and differing no leſs remarkably from the individuals of every other kind. Uniformity without variation is the offspring of nature, never of chance.

There is another argument that appears alſo to have weight. Horſes, with reſpect to ſize, ſhape, and ſpirit, differ widely in different climates. But let a male and a female of whatever climate be carried to a country where horſes are in perfection, their progeny will improve gradually, and will acquire in time the perfection of their kind. Is not this a proof, that all horſes are of one kind? If ſo, men are not all of one kind; for if a White mix with a Black in whatever climate, or a Hottentot with a Samoide, the reſult will not be either an improvement of the kind, or the contrary, but a mongrel breed differing from both parents.

It is thus aſcertained beyond any rational doubt, that there are different races or kinds of men, and that theſe races or kinds are naturally fitted for different climates: whence we have reaſon to conclude, that originally each kind was placed in its proper climate, whatever change may have happened in later times by war or commerce.

There is a remarkable fact that confirms the foregoing conjectures. As far back as hiſtory goes, or tradition kept alive by hiſtory, the earth was inhabited

habited by ſavages divided into many ſmall tribes, each tribe having a language peculiar to itſelf. Is it not natural to ſuppoſe, that theſe original tribes were different races of men, placed in proper climates, and left to form their own language?

Upon ſumming up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one heſitate a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counterbalancing evidence, namely, "That God created many pairs of the human race, differing "from each other both externally and internally; "that he fitted theſe pairs for different climates, "and placed each pair in its proper climate; that "the peculiarities of the original pairs were preſerved entire in their deſcendents; who, having "no aſſiſtance but their natural talents, were left "to gather knowledge from experience, and, in "particular, were left (each tribe) to form a language for itſelf; that ſigns were ſufficient for "the original pairs, without any language but "what nature ſuggeſts; and that a language was "formed gradually, as a tribe increaſed in numbers, and in different occupations, to make "ſpeech neceſſary?" But this opinion, however plauſible, we are not permitted to adopt; being taught a different leſſon by revelation, namely, That God created but a ſingle pair of the human ſpecies. Though we cannot doubt of the authority of Moſes, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it ſeems to contradict

every

every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account, different races of men were not created, nor were men framed originally for different climates. All men muſt have ſpoken the ſame language, that of our firſt parents. And what of all ſeems the moſt contradictory to that account, is the ſavage ſtate: Adam, as Moſes informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge; and he certainly muſt have been an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men into the ſavage ſtate? To account for that diſmal cataſtrophe, mankind muſt have ſuffered ſome terrible convulſion.

That terrible convulſion is revealed to us in the hiſtory of the Tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Geneſis, which is, "That for many centuries after the deluge, the whole earth "was of one language, and of one ſpeech; that "they united to build a city on a plain in the "land of Shinar, with a tower whoſe top might "reach into heaven; that the Lord beholding the "people to be one, and to have all one language, "and that nothing would be reſtrained from them "which they imagined to do, confounded their "language, that they might not underſtand one "another; and ſcattered them abroad upon the "face of all the earth." Here light breaks forth in the midſt of darkneſs. By confounding the language

language of men, and ſcattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered ſavages. And to harden them for their new habitations, it was neceſſary that they ſhould be divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates. Without an immediate change of bodily conſtitution, the builders of Babel could not poſſibly have ſubſiſted in the burning region of Guinea, nor in the frozen region of Lapland; eſpecially without houſes, or any other convenience to protect them againſt a deſtructive climate. Againſt this hiſtory it has indeed been urged, "That the circumſtances mentioned evince it to be purely an allegory; that men never were ſo frantic as to think of building a tower whoſe top might reach to heaven; and that it is groſsly abſurd, taking the matter literally, that the Almighty was afraid of men, and reduced to the neceſſity of ſaving himſelf by a miracle." But that this is a real hiſtory, muſt neceſſarily be admitted, as the confuſion of Babel is the only known fact that can reconcile ſacred and profane hiſtory.

And this leads us to conſider the diverſity of languages *. If the common language of men had not

* As the ſocial ſtate is eſſential to man, and ſpeech to the ſocial ſtate, the wiſdom of Providence in fitting men for acquiring that neceſſary art, deſerves more attention than is commonly beſtowed on it. The Oran Outang has the external organs of ſpeech in perfection; and many are puzzled to account why it never ſpeaks. But the external organs of ſpeech

not been confounded upon their undertaking the tower of Babel, I affirm, that there never could have been but one language. Antiquaries conſtantly ſuppoſe a migrating ſpirit in the original inhabitants of this earth; not only without evidence, but contrary to all probability. Men never deſert their connections nor their country without neceſſity: fear of enemies and of wild beaſts, as well as the attraction of ſociety, are more than ſufficient to reſtrain them from wandering; not to mention, that ſavages are peculiarly fond of their natal ſoil *. The firſt migrations were probably occaſioned

ſpeech make but a ſmall part of the neceſſary apparatus. The faculty of imitating ſounds is an eſſential part; and wonderful would that faculty appear, were it not rendered familiar by daily practice: a child of two or three years is able, by nature alone, without the leaſt inſtruction, to adapt its organs of ſpeech to every articulate ſound; and a child of four or five years can pitch its windpipe ſo as to emit a ſound of any elevation, which enables it, with an ear, to imitate the ſongs it hears. But, above all the other parts, ſenſe and underſtanding are eſſential to ſpeech. A parrot can pronounce articulate ſounds, and it has frequently an inclination to ſpeak; but, for want of underſtanding, none of the kind can form a ſingle ſentence. Has an Oran Outang underſtanding to form a mental propoſition? has he a faculty to expreſs that propoſition in ſounds? and ſuppoſing him able to expreſs what he ſees and hears, what would he make of the connective and diſjunctive particles?

* With reſpect to the ſuppoſed migrating ſpirit, even Bochart muſt yield to Kempfer in boldneſs of conjecture. After proving,

occaſioned by factions and civil wars; the next by commerce. Greece affords inſtances of the former, Phœnicia of the latter. Unleſs upon ſuch occaſions, members of a family or of a tribe will never retire farther from their fellows than is neceſſary for food; and by retiring gradually, they loſe neither their connections nor their manners, far leſs their language, which is in conſtant exerciſe. As far back as hiſtory carries us, tribes without number are diſcovered, each having a language peculiar

proving, from difference of language and from other circumſtances, that Japan was not peopled by the Chineſe, Kempfer, without the leaſt heſitation, ſettles a colony there of thoſe who thought of building the tower of Babel. Nay, he traces moſt minutely their route to Japan; and concludes, that they muſt have travelled with great expedition, becauſe their language has no tincture of any other. He did not think it neceſſary to explain what temptation they had to wander ſo far from home; nor why they ſettled in an iſland, not preferable either in ſoil or climate to many countries they muſt have traverſed.

An ingenious French writer obſerves, that plauſible reaſons would lead one to conjecture, that men were more early poliſhed in iſlands than in continents; as people crowded together ſoon find the neceſſity of laws to reſtrain them from miſchief. And yet, ſays he, the manners of iſlanders and their laws are commonly the lateſt formed. A very ſimple reflection would have unfolded the myſtery. Many many centuries did men exiſt without thinking of navigation. That art was not invented till men, ſtraitened in their quarters upon the continent, thought of occupying adjacent iſlands.

liar to itſelf. Strabo * reports, that the Albanians were divided into ſeveral tribes, differing in external appearance and in language. Cæſar found in Gaul ſeveral ſuch tribes; and Tacitus records the names of many tribes in Germany. There are a multitude of American tribes which to this day continue diſtinct from each other, and have each a different language. The mother-tongues at preſent, though numerous, bear no proportion to what formerly exiſted. We find original tribes gradually enlarging; by conqueſt frequently, and more frequently by the union of weak tribes for mutual defence. Such events leſſen the number of languages. The Coptic is not a living language any where. The Celtic tongue, once extenſive, is at preſent confined to the Highlands of Scotland, to Wales, to Britany, and to a part of Ireland. In a few centuries, it will ſhare the fate of many other original tongues: it will totally be forgotten.

If men had not been ſcattered every where by the confuſion of Babel, another particular muſt have occurred, differing no leſs from what has really happened than that now mentioned. As paradiſe is conjectured to have been ſituated in the heart of Aſia, the ſurrounding regions, for the reaſon above given, muſt have been firſt peopled; and the civilization and improvements of the mother-country were undoubtedly carried along to every new ſettlement. In particular, the colonies planted

* Book 2.

planted in America and the South Sea iſlands, muſt have been highly poliſhed; becauſe, being at the greateſt diſtance, they probably were the lateſt. And yet theſe and other remote people, the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, remain to this day in the original ſavage ſtate of hunting and fiſhing.

Thus, had not men wildly attempted to build a tower whoſe top might reach to heaven, all men would not only have had the ſame language, but would have made the ſame progreſs towards maturity of knowledge and civilization. That deplorable event reverſed all nature: by ſcattering men over the face of all the earth, it deprived them of ſociety, and rendered them ſavages. From that ſtate of degeneracy, they have been emerging gradually. Some nations, ſtimulated by their own nature, or by their climate, have made a rapid progreſs; ſome have proceeded more ſlowly; and ſome continue ſavages. To trace out that progreſs towards maturity in different nations, is the ſubject of the preſent undertaking.

SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY OF MAN.

BOOK I.

PROGRESS OF MEN INDEPENDENT OF SOCIETY.

SKETCH I.

PROGRESS RESPECTING FOOD AND POPULATION.

IN temperate climes, men fed originally on fruits that grow without culture, and on the flesh of land-animals. As such animals become shy when often hunted, there is a contrivance of nature, no less simple than effectual, which engages men to bear with chearfulness the fatigues of hunting, and the uncertainty of capture; and that is, an appetite for hunting. Hunger alone is not sufficient: savages who act by sense, not by foresight, move

not when the ſtomach is full; and it would be too late when the ſtomach is empty, to form a hunting-party. As that appetite is common to all ſavages whoſe food depends on hunting; it is an illuſtrious inſtance of providential care, the adapting the internal conſtitution of man to his external circumſtances *. The appetite for hunting, though among

* It would be an agreeable undertaking, to collect all the inſtances where the internal conſtitution of man is adapted to his external ſtructure, and to other circumſtances; but it would be a laborious work, as the inſtances are extremely numerous; and, in the courſe of the preſent undertaking, there will be occaſion to mark ſeveral of them. "How finely are "the external parts of animals adjuſted to their internal diſ-"poſitions? That ſtrong and nervous leg armed with tear-"ing fangs, how perfectly does it correſpond to the fierce-"neſs of the lion! Had it been adorned like the human "arm with fingers inſtead of fangs, the natural energies of "a lion had been all of them defeated. That more delicate "ſtructure of an arm terminating in fingers ſo nicely diver-"ſified, how perfectly does it correſpond to the pregnant in-"vention of the human ſoul! Had theſe fingers been fangs, "what had become of poor Art that procures us ſo many "elegancies and utilities! 'Tis here we behold the harmony "between the viſible world and the inviſible †." The following is another inſtance of the ſame kind, which I mention here becauſe it falls not under common obſervation. How finely, in the human ſpecies, are the throat and the ear adjuſted to each other, the one to emit muſical ſounds, the other to enjoy them! the one without the other would be an uſeleſs talent. May it not be juſtly thought, that to the power we have

† Harris.

among us little neceſſary for food, is to this day remarkable in young men, high and low, rich and poor. Natural propenſities may be rendered faint or obſcure, but never are totally eradicated.

Fiſh was not early the food of man. Water is not our element; and ſavages probably did not attempt to draw food from the ſea or from rivers, till land-animals became ſcarce. Plutarch in his Sympoſiacs obſerves, that the Syrians and Greeks

have of emitting muſical ſounds by the throat, we owe the invention of muſical inſtruments? A man would never think of inventing a muſical inſtrument, but in order to imitate ſounds that his ear had been delighted with. But there is a faculty in man ſtill more remarkable, which ſerves to correct the organs of external ſenſe, where they tend to miſlead him. I give two curious inſtances. The image of every viſible object is painted on the *retina tunica*, and by that means the object makes an impreſſion on the mind. In what manner this is done, cannot be explained; becauſe we have no conception how mind acts on body, or body on mind. But, as far as we can conceive or conjecture, a viſible object ought to appear to us inverted, becauſe the image painted on the *retina tunica* is inverted. But this is corrected by the faculty mentioned, which makes us perceive objects as they really exiſt. The other inſtance follows. As a man has two eyes, and ſees with each of them, every object naturally ought to appear double; and yet with two eyes we ſee every object ſingle, preciſely as if we had but one. Many philoſophers, Sir Iſaac Newton in particular, have endeavoured to account for this phenomenon by mechanical principles, but evidently without giving ſatisfaction. To explain this phenomenon, it appears to me that we muſt have recourſe to the faculty mentioned acting againſt mechanical principles.

of old abſtained from fiſh. Menelaus * complains, that his companions had been reduced by hunger to that food; and though the Grecian camp at the ſiege of Troy was on the ſea-ſhore, there is not in Homer a ſingle hint of their feeding on fiſh. We learn from Dion Caſſius, that the Caledonians did not eat fiſh, though they had them in plenty; which is confirmed by Adamannus, a Scotch hiſtorian, in his life of St Columba. The ancient Caledonians depended almoſt entirely on deer for food; becauſe in a cold country the fruits that grow ſpontaneouſly affoſd little nouriſhment; and domeſtic animals, which at preſent ſo much abound, were not early known in the north of Britain.

Antiquaries talk of acorns, nuts, and other ſhell-fruits, as the only vegetable food that men had originally, overlooking wheat, rice, barley, &c. which muſt from the creation have grown ſpontaneouſly: for ſurely, when agriculture firſt commenced, it did not require a miracle to procure the ſeeds of theſe plants †. The Laplanders, poſſeſſing

* Book 4. of the Odyſſey.

† Writers upon natural hiſtory have been ſolicitous to diſcover the original climate of theſe plants, but without much ſucceſs. The original climate of plants left to nature, cannot be a ſecret: but in countries well peopled, the plants mentioned are not left to nature: the ſeeds are carefully gathered, and ſtored up for food. As this practice could not fail to make theſe ſeeds ſcarce, agriculture was early thought of which

ſeſſing a country where corn will not grow, make bread of the inner bark of trees; and Linnæus reports, that ſwine there fatten on that food, as well as in Sweden upon corn.

Plenty of food procured by hunting and fiſhing, promotes population: but as conſumption of food increaſes with population, wild animals, ſorely perſecuted, become not only more rare, but more ſhy. Men, thus pinched for food, are excited to try other means for ſupplying their wants. A fawn, a kid, or a lamb, taken alive and tamed for amuſement, ſuggeſted probably flocks and herds, and introduced the ſhepherd-ſtate. Changes are not per-

which, by introducing plants into new ſoils and new climates, has rendered the original climate obſcure. If we can trace that climate, it muſt be in regions deſtitute of inhabitants, or but thinly peopled. Anſon found in the iſland Juan Fernandez many ſpots of ground covered with oats. The Sioux, a very ſmall tribe in North America, poſſeſs a vaſt country, where oats grow ſpontaneouſly in meadows and on the ſides of rivers, which make part of their food, without neceſſity of agriculture. While the French poſſeſſed Port Dauphin, in the iſland of Madagaſcar, they raiſed excellent wheat. That ſtation was deſerted many years ago; and wheat to this day grows naturally among the graſs in great vigour. In the country about Mount Tabor in Paleſtine, barley and oats grow ſpontaneouſly. In the kingdom of Siam, there are many ſpots where rice grows year after year, without any culture. Diodorus Siculus is our authority for ſaying, that in the territory of Leontinum, and in other places of Sicily, wheat grew wild without any culture. And it does ſo at preſent about Mount Etna.

fected but by ſlow degrees: hunting and fiſhing continue for a long time favourite occupations; and the few animals that are domeſticated, ſerve as a common ſtock to be diſtributed among individuals, according to their wants. But as the idle and indolent, though the leaſt deſerving, are thus the greateſt conſumers of the common ſtock, an improvement crept in, that every family ſhould rear a ſtock for themſelves. Men by that means being taught to rely on their own induſtry, diſplayed the hoarding principle, which multiplied flocks and herds exceedingly. And thus the ſhepherd-ſtate was perfected, plenty of food being ſupplied at home, without ranging the woods or the waters. Hunting and fiſhing, being no longer neceſſary for food, became an amuſement merely, and a gratification of the original appetite for hunting.

The finger of God may be clearly traced in the proviſion made of animal food for man. Graminivorous animals, perhaps all, make palatable and wholeſome food. I except not the horſe: ſome nations feed on it; others do not, becauſe it is more profitable by its labour. Carnivorous animals, generally ſpeaking, make not wholeſome food nor palatable. The firſt-mentioned animals are gentle, and eaſily tamed: the latter are fierce, not eaſily tamed, and uncertain in temper when tamed. Graſs grows every where in temperate regions; and men beſide can multiply animal food without

without end, by training domeſtic animals to live on turnip, carrot, potato, and other roots. Herodotus adds the following admirable reflection: "We may rationally conjecture, that Divine Pro-
"vidence has rendered extremely prolific ſuch
"creatures as are naturally fearful, and ſerve for
"food, leſt they ſhould be deſtroyed by conſtant
"conſumption: whereas the rapacious and cruel
"are almoſt barren. The hare, which is the prey
"of beaſts, birds, and men, is a great breeder: a
"lioneſs, on the contrary, the ſtrongeſt and fierceſt
"of beaſts, brings forth but once."

The ſhepherd-ſtate is friendly to population. Men by plenty of food multiply apace; and, in proceſs of time, neighbouring tribes, ſtraitened in their paſture, go to war for extenſion of territory, or migrate to land not yet occupied. Neceſſity, the mother of invention, ſuggeſted agriculture. When corn growing ſpontaneouſly was rendered ſcarce by conſumption, it was an obvious thought to propagate it by art: nature was the guide, which carries on its work of propagation with ſeeds that drop from a plant in their maturity, and ſpring up new plants. As the land was poſſeſſed in common, the ſeed of courſe was ſown in common; and the product was ſtored in a common repoſitory, to be parcelled out among individuals in want, as the common ſtock of animals had been formerly. We have for our authority Diodorus Siculus, that the Celtiberians divided their land annually

annually among individuals, to be laboured for the uſe of the public; and that the product was ſtored up, and diſtributed from time to time among the neceſſitous. A laſting diviſion of the land among the members of the ſtate, ſecuring to each man the product of his own ſkill and labour, was a great ſpur to induſtry, and multiplied food exceedingly. Population made a rapid progreſs, and government became an art; for agriculture and commerce cannot flouriſh without ſalutary laws.

Natural fruits ripen to greater perfection in a temperate than in a cold climate, and cultivation is more eaſy; which circumſtances make it highly probable, that agriculture became firſt an art in temperate climes. The culture of corn was ſo early in Greece, as to make a branch of its fabulous hiſtory: in Egypt it muſt have been coeval with the inhabitants; for while the Nile overflows, they cannot ſubſiſt without corn *. Nor without corn could the ancient monarchies of Aſſyria and Babylon have been ſo populous and powerful as they are ſaid to have been. In the northern parts of Europe, wheat, barley, peaſe, and perhaps oats, are foreign plants: as the climate is not friendly to corn, agriculture muſt have crept northward by ſlow degrees: and, even at preſent, it requires no ſmall portion both of ſkill and induſtry to bring corn to maturity in ſuch a climate. Hence it may be inferred with certainty, that the ſhepherd-ſtate continued

* Hiſtorical Law-Tracts, tract 1.

continued longer in northern climates than in thoſe nearer the ſun. Cold countries, however, are friendly to population; and the northern people, multiplying beyond the food that can be ſupplied by flocks and herds, were compelled to throw off many ſwarms in ſearch of new habitations. Their frequent migrations were for many years a dreadful ſcourge to neighbouring nations. People, amazed at the multitude of the invaders, judged, that the countries from whence they iſſued muſt have been exceedingly populous; and hence the North was termed *officina gentium*. But ſcarcity of food in the ſhepherd-ſtate was the true cauſe; the north of Europe, in all probability, is as well peopled at preſent as ever it was, though its migrations have ceaſed, corn and commerce having put an end to that terrible ſcourge*. Denmark at preſent

* *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus.* Monteſquieu accounts as follows for the great ſwarms of Barbarians that overwhelmed the Roman empire. "Ces eſſaims de Barbares qui ſortirent autrefois du nord, ne paroiſſent plus aujourd'hui. Les violences des Romains avoient fait retirer les peuple du midi au nord: tandis que la force qui les contenoit ſubſiſta, ils y reſterent; quand elle fut affoiblie, ils ſe repandirent de toutes parts." *Grandeur des Romains*, c. 16.—[*In Engliſh thus:* "The ſwarms of Barbarians who poured formerly from the north, appear no more. The violence of the Roman arms had driven thoſe nations from the ſouth towards the north: there they remained during the ſubſiſtence of that force which retained them; but that being "once

ſent feeds 2,000,000 inhabitants; Sweden, according to a liſt made up *anno* 1760, 2,383,113; and theſe countries muſt be much more populous than of old, when over-run with immenſe woods, and when agriculture was unknown. Had the Danes and Norwegians been acquainted with agriculture in the ninth and tenth centuries, when they poured out multitudes upon their neighbours, they would not have ventured their lives in frail veſſels upon a tempeſtuous ocean, in order to diſtreſs nations who were not their enemies. But hunger is a cogent motive; and hunger gave to theſe pirates ſuperiority in arms above every nation that enjoyed plenty at home. Luckily ſuch depredations muſt have intervals; for as they neceſſarily occaſion great havock even among the victors, the remainder finding ſufficiency of food at home, reſt there till an increaſing population forces them again to action *. Agriculture, which fixes people to a ſpot, is an invincible obſtacle to migration; and happy it is for Europe, that this art, now univerſally diffuſed, has put an end for ever to that ſcourge, more deſtructive than a peſtilence: people find

" once weakened, they ſpread abroad to every quarter."]— It has quite eſcaped him, that men cannot, like water, be damm'd up without being fed.

* Joannes Magnus, in the 8th book of his Hiſtory of the Goths, mentions, that a third part of the Swedes, being compelled by famine to leave their native country, founded the kingdom of the Longobards in Italy.

find now occupation and ſubſiſtence at home, without infeſting others. Agriculture is a great bleſſing: it not only affords us food in plenty, but ſecures the fruits of our induſtry from hungry and rapacious invaders *.

That the progreſs above traced muſt have proceeded from ſome vigorous impulſe, will be admitted, conſidering the prevailing influence of cuſtom: once hunters, men will always be hunters, till they be forced out of that ſtate by ſome overpowering cauſe. Hunger, the cauſe here aſſigned, is of all the moſt overpowering; and the ſame cauſe, overcoming indolence and idleneſs, has introduced manufactures, commerce, and variety of arts †.

The

* Mahomet Bey, King of Tunis, was dethroned by his ſubjects; but having the reputation of the philoſopher's ſtone, he was reſtored by the Dey of Algiers, upon promiſing to communicate the ſecret to him. Mahomet, with pomp and ſolemnity, ſent a plough; intimating, that agriculture is the ſtrength of a kingdom, and that the only philoſopher's ſtone is a good crop, which may be eaſily converted into gold.

† M. Buffon, diſcourſing of America, "Is it not ſingular," ſays he, "that, in a world compoſed almoſt wholly of ſavages, there never ſhould have been any ſociety or commerce "between them and the animals about them? There was "not a domeſtic animal in America when diſcovered by Columbus, except among the poliſhed people of Mexico and "Peru. Is not this a proof, that man, in his ſavage ſtate, is "but a ſort of brute animal; having no faculties but to provide for his ſubſiſtence, by attacking the weak, and avoid-

"ing

The progreſs here delineated has, in all temperate climates of the Old World, been preciſely uniform; but it has been different in the extremes of cold and hot climates. In very cold regions, which produce little vegetable food for man, the hunter-ſtate was originally eſſential. In temperate regions, as obſerved above, men ſubſiſted partly on vegetable food, which is more or leſs plentiful in proportion to the heat of the climate. In the torrid zone, natural fruits are produced in ſuch plenty and perfection, as to be more than ſufficient for a moderate population: and, in caſe of extraordinary population, the tranſition to huſbandry is eaſy. There are found, accordingly, in every populous country of the torrid zone, crops of rice, maize, roots, and other vegetable food, raiſed by the hand of man. As hunting becomes thus leſs and leſs neceſſary

"ing the ſtrong; and having no idea of his ſuperiority over "other animals, which he never once thinks of bringing un-"der ſubjection? This is the more ſurpriſing, as moſt of "the American animals are by nature docile and timid." Our author, without being ſenſible of it, lays a foundation for a ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe queſtions, by what he adds, That, in the whole compaſs of America, when diſcovered by the Spaniards, there were not half the number of people that are in Europe; and that ſuch ſcarcity of men favoured greatly the propagation of wild animals, which had few enemies, and much food. Was it not obvious to conclude, from theſe premiſes, that while men, who by nature are fond of hunting, have game in plenty, they never think of turning ſhepherds?

neceſſary in the progreſs from cold to hot countries, the appetite for hunting keeps pace with that progreſs: it is vigorous in very cold countries, where men depend on hunting for food: it is leſs vigorous in temperate countries, where they are partly fed with natural fruits; and there is ſcarce any veſtige of it in hot countries, where vegetables are the food of men, and where meat is an article of luxury. The original occupation of ſavages, both in cold and temperate climates, is hunting, altogether eſſential in the former, as the only means of procuring food. The next ſtep of the progreſs in both, is the occupation of a ſhepherd; and there the progreſs ſtops ſhort in very cold regions, unfit for corn. Lapland, in particular, produces no vegetable but moſs, which is the food of no animal but the rein-deer. This circumſtance ſolely is what renders Lapland habitable by men. Without rein-deer, the ſea-coaſts within the reach of fiſh would admit ſome inhabitants; but the inland parts would be a deſert. As the ſwiftneſs of that animal makes it not an eaſy prey, the taming it for food muſt have been early attempted; and its natural docility made the attempt ſucceed. It yields to no other animal in uſefulneſs: it is equal to a horſe for draught: its fleſh is excellent food; and the female gives milk more nouriſhing than that of a cow: its fur is fine; and the leather made of its ſkin is both ſoft and durable. In Tartary, though a great part of it lies in a temperate zone, there is little

little corn. As far back as tradition reaches, the Tartars have had flocks and herds; and yet, in a great meaſure, they not only continue hunters, but retain the ferocity of that ſtate: they are not fond of being ſhepherds, and have no knowledge of huſbandry. This, in appearance, is ſingular; but nothing happens without a cauſe. Tartary is one continued mountain from weſt to eaſt, riſing high above the countries to the ſouth, and declining gradually to the northern ocean, without a ſingle hill to intercept the bitter blaſts of the north. A few ſpots excepted, a tree above the ſize of a ſhrub cannot live in it *. In Europe, the mountains of Norway and Lapland are a comfortable ſcreen againſt the north wind: whence it is, that the land about Stockholm † produces both trees and corn; and even about Abo ‡ the climate is tolerable. Great Tartary abounds with paſture; but extreme cold renders it very little capable of corn. Through all Chineſe Tartary, even as low as the 43d degree of latitude, the froſt continues ſeven or eight months yearly; and that country, though in the latitude of France, is as cold as Iceland. The cauſes are its nitrous ſoil, and its height,

* May not a ſimilar ſituation, in ſome parts of North America, be partly the occaſion of the cold that is felt there, beyond what Europe feels in the ſame latitude?

† Latitude 59°.

‡ Latitude 61°.

height, without any ſhelter from the weſt wind, that has paſſed through an immenſe continent extremely cold. A certain place near the ſource of the river Kavamhuran, and within 80 leagues of the great wall, was found by Father Verbeiſt to be 3000 geometrical paces above the level of the ſea. Thus the Tartars, like the Laplanders, are chained to the ſhepherd-ſtate, and can never advance to be huſbandmen. If population among them ever become ſo conſiderable as to require more food than the ſhepherd-ſtate can ſupply, migration will be their only reſource.

In every ſtep of the progreſs, the torrid zone differs. We have no evidence that either the hunter or ſhepherd-ſtate ever exiſted there: the inhabitants, at preſent, ſubſiſt on vegetable food; and probably did ſo from the beginning. In Manila, one of the Philippine iſlands, the trees bud, bloſſom, and bear fruit, all the year round. The natives, driven by Spaniſh invaders from the ſea-coaſt to the inland parts, have no particular place of abode, but live under the ſhelter of trees, which afford them food as well as habitation: and, when the fruit is conſumed in one ſpot, they remove to another. The orange, lemon, and other European trees, bear fruit twice a-year: a ſprig planted bears fruit within the year. And this picture of Manila anſwers to numberleſs places in the torrid zone. The Marian or Ladrone iſlands are extremely populous, and yet the inhabitants live en-

tirely on fish, fruits, and roots. The inhabitants of the new Philippine islands live on cocoa-nuts, salads, roots, and fish. The inland negroes make but one meal a-day, which is in the evening. Their diet is plain, consisting mostly of rice, fruits, and roots. The island of Otaheité is healthy, the people tall and well made; and by temperance, vegetables and fish being their chief nourishment, they live to a good old age, almost without any ailment. There is no such thing known among them as rotten teeth: the very smell of wine or spirits is disagreeable; and they never deal in tobacco nor spiceries. In many places Indian corn is the chief nourishmeut, which every man plants for himself. The inhabitants of Biledulgerid and the desert of Zaara, have but two meals a-day, one in the morning, and one in the evening. Being temperate, and strangers to diseases arising from luxury, they generally live to a great age. Sixty with them is the prime of life, as thirty is in Europe. An inhabitant of Madagascar will travel two or three days without any food but a sugar-cane. There is indeed little appetite for animal food in hot climates; though beef and fowl have in small quantities been introduced to the tables of the great, as articles of luxury. In America are observable some variations from the progress; but these are reserved for a separate sketch *.

With

* Book 2. Sk. 12.

With reſpect to population, that plenty of food is its chief cauſe, may be illuſtrated by the following computation. The ſouthern provinces of China produce two crops of rice in a year, ſometimes three; and an acre, well cultivated, gives food to ten perſons. The peaſants go almoſt naked; and the better ſort wear but a ſingle garment made of cotton, of which as much is produced upon an acre as may clothe four or five hundred. Hence the extreme populouſneſs of China and other rice countries. The Caſſavé root, which ſerves the Americans for bread, is produced in ſuch plenty, that an acre of it will feed more perſons than ſix acres of wheat. It is not, then, for want of food that America is ill peopled. That Negroland is well peopled is paſt doubt, conſidering the great annual draughts from that country to America, without any apparent diminution of numbers. Inſtances are not extremely rare, of two hundred children born to one man by his different wives. Food muſt be in great plenty, to enable a man to maintain ſo many children. It would require wonderful ſkill and labour to make Europe ſo populous: an acre and a half of wheat is barely ſufficient to maintain a ſingle family of peaſants; and their clothing requires many acres more. A country where the inhabitants live chiefly by hunting, muſt be very thin of inhabitants, as 10,000 acres, or double that number, are no more than ſufficient for maintaining a ſingle family. If the multiplication of ani-

mals depended chiefly on fecundity, wolves would be more numerous than ſheep: a great proportion of the latter are deprived of the procreating power, and many more of them are killed than of the former; yet we ſee every where large flocks of ſheep, ſeldom a wolf; for what reaſon, other than that the former have plenty of food, the latter very little? A wolf reſembles a ſavage who lives by hunting, and conſumes the game of five or ſix thouſand acres.

Waving the queſtion, Whether the human race be the offſpring of one pair or of many, it appears the intention of Providence, that the earth ſhould be peopled, and population be kept up by the ordinary means of procreation. By theſe means a tribe ſoon becomes too populous for the primitive ſtate of hunting and fiſhing: it may even become too populous for the ſhepherd-ſtate; but it cannot eaſily become too populous for huſbandry. In the two former ſtates, food muſt decreaſe in quantity as conſumers increaſe in number: but agriculture has the ſignal property of producing, by induſtry, food in proportion to the number of conſumers. In fact, the greateſt quantities of corn and of cattle are commonly produced in the moſt populous diſtricts, where each family has its proportion of land. An ancient Roman, ſober and induſtrious, made a ſhift to maintain his family on the produce of a few acres *.

The

* Scotland muſt have been very ill peopled in the days of its fifth

The bounty given in Britain for exporting corn is friendly to population in two respects; first, because husbandry requires many hands; and, next, because the bounty lowers the price of corn at home. To give a bounty for exporting cattle would obstruct population; because pasture requires few hands, and exportation raises the price of cattle at home. From the single port of Cork, *an.* 1735, were exported 107,161 barrels of beef, 7379 barrels of pork, 13,461 casks of butter, and 85,727 firkins of the same commodity. Thus a large portion of Ireland is set apart for feeding other nations. What addition of strength would it not be to Britain, if that large quantity of food were consumed at home by useful manufacturers!

No manufacture contributes more to population than that of silk. It employs as many hands as wool; and it withdraws no land from tillage or pasture.

Lapland is but thinly inhabited even for the shepherd-state, the country being capable of maintaining a greater number of rein-deer, and, consequently, a greater number of the human species than are found in it. Yet the Laplanders are well acquainted with private property: every family has tame rein-deer of their own, to the ex-

fifth James, when at one hunting in the high country of Roxburghshire, that prince killed three hundred and sixty red-deer; and in Athol, at another time, six hundred, beside roes, wolves, foxes, and wild cats.

tent ſometimes of four or five hundred: they indeed appear to have more rein-deer than there is a demand for. Why then is Lapland ſo thinly peopled? Either it muſt have been but lately planted, or the inhabitants are not prolific. I incline to the latter, upon the authority of Scheffer. Tartary is alſo but thinly peopled; and as I find not that the Tartars are leſs prolific than their neighbours, it is probable that Tartary, being the moſt barren country Aſia, has not been early planted. At the ſame time, population has been much retarded by the reſtleſs and roaming ſpirit of that people: it is true, they have been forced into the ſhepherd-ſtate by want of food; but ſo averſe are they to the ſedentary life of a ſhepherd, that they truſt their cattle to ſlaves, and perſevere in their favourite occupation of hunting. This diſpoſition has been a dreadful peſt to the human ſpecies, the Tartars having made more extenſive conqueſts, and deſtroyed more men, than any other nation known in hiſtory: more cruel than tigers, they ſeemed to have no delight but in blood and maſſacre, without any regard either to ſex or age *. Luckily for the human ſpecies, rich ſpoils dazzled their eyes, and rouſed an appetite for wealth. Avarice is ſometimes productive of good: it moved theſe monſters

* When the Tartars under Genhizkan conquered China, it was ſeriouſly deliberated, whether they ſhould not kill all the inhabitants, and convert that vaſt country into paſture-fields for their cattle.

ſters to ſell the conquered people for ſlaves, which preſerved the lives of millions. Conqueſts, however ſucceſsful, cannot go on for ever; they are not accompliſhed without great loſs of men; and the conqueſts of the Tartars depopulated their country.

But as ſome centuries have elapſed without any conſiderable eruption of that fiery people, their numbers muſt at preſent be conſiderable by the ordinary progreſs of population. Have we not reaſon to dread new eruptions, like what formerly happened? Our foreknowledge of future events extends not far; but in all appearance we have nothing to fear from that quarter. The Tartars ſubdued a great part of the world by ferocity and undaunted courage, ſupported by liberty and independence. They acknowledged Genhizkan as their leader in war, but were as far from being ſlaves, as the Franks were when they conquered Gaul. Tamerlane again enjoyed but a ſubſtituted power, and never had the boldneſs to aſſume the title of Chan or Emperor. But the Tartars have ſubmitted to the ſame yoke of deſpotiſm that their ferocity impoſed upon others; and being now governed by a number of petty tyrants, their courage is broken by ſlavery, and they are no longer formidable to the reſt of mankind *.

* "Gallos in bellis floruiſſe accepimus," ſays Tacitus in his life of Agricola; "mox ſegnities cum otio intravit, amiſſâ vir-
"tute

Depopulation enters into the present sketch as well as population. The latter follows not with greater certainty from equality of property, than the former from inequality. In every great state, where the people by prosperity and opulence are sunk into voluptuousness, we hear daily complaints of depopulation. Cookery depopulates likes a pestilence; because, when it becomes an art, it brings within the compass of one stomach what is sufficient for ten days of temperance; and is so far worse than a pestilence, that the people never recruit again. The inhabitants of France devour at present more food than the same number did formerly. The like is observable in Britain, and in every country where luxury abounds. Remedies are proposed and put in practice, celibacy disgraced, marriage encouraged, and rewards given for a numerous offspring. All in vain! The only effectual remedies are to encourage husbandry, and to repress luxury. Olivares hoped to repeople Spain, by encouraging matrimony. Abderam, a Mahometan king of Cordova, was a better politician

"tute pariter ac libertate." [*In English thus;* "We have "heard that the Gauls formerly made a figure in war; but "becoming a prey to indolence, the consequence of peace, "they lost at once their valour and their liberty."]—Spain, which defended itself with great bravery against the Romans, became an easy prey to the Vandals in the fifth century. When attacked by the Romans, it was divided into many free states: when attacked by the Vandals, it was enervated by slavery under Roman despotism.

tician. By encouraging induſtry, and procuring plenty of food, he repeopled his kingdom in leſs than thirty years*.

Luxury is a deadly enemy to population, not only by intercepting food from the induſtrious, but by weakening the power of procreation. Indolence accompanies voluptuouſneſs, or rather is a branch of it; women of rank employ others to move them, being too delicate to move themſelves; and a woman, enervated by indolence and intemperance, is ill qualified for the ſevere labour of child-bearing. Hence it is, that people of rank, where luxury prevails, are not prolific. This infirmity not only prevents population, but increaſes luxury, by accumulating wealth among a few blood relations. A barren woman among the labouring poor, is a wonder. Could women of rank be perſuaded to make a trial, they would find more ſelf-enjoyment in temperance and exerciſe, than in the moſt refined luxury; nor would they have cauſe to envy others the bleſſing of a numerous and healthy offspring.

Luxury

* A foundling-hoſpital is a greater enemy to population, than liberty to expoſe infants, which is permitted to parents in China and in ſome other countries. Both of them, indeed, encourage matrimony: but in ſuch hoſpitals, thouſands periſh yearly beyond the ordinary proportion; whereas few infants periſh by the liberty of expoſing them, parental affection prevailing commonly over the diſtreſs of proverty. And, upon the whole, population gains more by that liberty than it loſes.

Luxury is not a greater enemy to population, by enervating men and women, than deſpotiſm is by reducing them to ſlavery, and deſtroying induſtry. Deſpotiſm is a greater enemy to the human ſpecies than an Egyptian plague; for, by rendering men miſerable, it weakens both the appetite for procreation and the power. Free ſtates, on the contrary, are always populous: a man who is happy, longs for children to make them alſo happy; and induſtry enables him to accompliſh his longing. This obſervation is verified from the hiſtory of Greece, and of the Leſſer Aſia: the inhabitants anciently were free and numerous: the preſent inhabitants are reduced by ſlavery to a ſmall number. A peſtilence deſtroys thoſe only who exiſt, and the loſs is ſoon repaired; but deſpotiſm, as above obſerved, ſtrikes at the very root of population.

An overflowing quantity of money in circulation, is another cauſe of depopulation. In a nation that grows rich by commerce, the price of labour increaſes with the quantity of circulating coin, which of courſe raiſes the price of manufactures; and manufacturers, who cannot find a vent for their high-rated goods in foreign markets, muſt give over buſineſs, and commence beggars, or retire to another country, where they may have a proſpect of ſucceſs. But luckily, there is a remedy, in that caſe, to prevent depopulation: land is cultivated to greater perfection by the ſpade than by

by the plough; and the more plentiful crops produced by the former, are fully ſufficient to defray the additional expence. This is a reſource for employing thoſe who cannot make bread as manufacturers, and deſerves well the attention of the legiſlature. The advantage of the ſpade is conſpicuous with reſpect to war; it provides a multitude of robuſt men for recruiting the army, the want of whom may be ſupplied by the plough, till they return in peace to their former occupation.

SKETCH II.

PROGRESS OF PROPERTY.

AMONG the ſenſes inherent in man, the ſenſe of property is eminent. That ſenſe is the foundation of *yours* and *mine*, a diſtinction which no human being is ignorant of. By that ſenſe, wild animals, caught with labour or art, are perceived to belong to the hunter or fiſher: they become his *property*. There is the ſame perception of property with reſpect to wild animals tamed for uſe, with their progeny. A field ſeparated from the common, and cultivated by a man for bread to himſelf

himſelf and family, is equally perceived to be his property *.

The ſenſe of property is ſlower in its growth toward maturity than the external ſenſes, which are perfect even in childhood; but it ripens more early than the ſenſe of congruity, of ſymmetry, of dignity, of grace, and the other refined ſenſes, which ſcarce make any figure before the age of manhood. Children diſcover a ſenſe of property in diſtinguiſhing their own chair, and their own ſpoon. In them, however, it is faint and obſcure, requiring time to ripen. The gradual progreſs of that ſenſe, from its infancy among ſavages to its maturity among poliſhed nations, is one of the moſt inſtructive articles that belong to the preſent undertaking. But as that article makes a part of Hiſtorical Law-tracts †, nothing remains here but a few gleanings.

Man is by nature a hoarding animal, having an appetite for ſtoring up things of uſe; and the ſenſe of property is beſtowed on men, for ſecuring to them what they thus ſtore up. Hence it appears, that things deſtined by Providence for our ſuſtenance and accommodation, were not intended to be poſſeſſed in common. It is even probable, that in the earlieſt ages every man ſeparately hunted for himſelf and his family. But chance prevails in

* See Principles of Morality and Natural Religion, p. 77. edit. 2.

† Tract 3.

in that occupation; and it may frequently happen, that while ſome get more than enough, others muſt go ſupperleſs to bed. Senſible of that inconvenience, it crept into practice, for hunting and fiſhing to be carried on in common *. We find, accordingly, the practice of hunting and fiſhing in common, even among groſs ſavages. Thoſe of New Holland, above mentioned, live upon ſmall fiſh dug out of the ſand when the ſea retires. Sometimes they get plenty, ſometimes very little; and all is broiled and eat in common. After eating they go to reſt: they return to their fiſhing next

* Inequalities of chance, which are great in a few trials, vaniſh almoſt entirely when an operation is frequently reiterated during a courſe of time. Did every man's ſubſiſtence depend on the fruits of his own field, many would die of hunger, while others wallowed in plenty. Barter and commerce among the inhabitants of a diſtrict, leſſen the hazard of famine: the commerce of corn through a large kingdom, ſuch as France or Britain, leſſens it ſtill more. Extend that commerce through Europe, through the world, and there will remain ſcarce a veſtige of the inequalities of chance: the crop of corn may fail in one province, or in one kingdom; but that it ſhould fail univerſally, is beyond the varieties of chance. The ſame obſervation holds in every other matter of chance: one's gain or loſs at game for a night, for a week, may be conſiderable; but carry on the game for a year, and ſo little of chance remains, that it is almoſt the ſame whether one play for a guinea or for twenty. Hence a ſkilful inſurer never ventures much upon one bottom, but multiplies his bargains as much as poſſible: the more bargains he is engaged in, the greater is the probability of gain.

next ebb of the tide, whether it be day or night, foul or fair; for go they muſt, or ſtarve. In ſmall tribes, where patriotiſm is vigorous, or in a country thinly peopled in proportion to its fertility, the living in common is agreeable: but in a large ſtate where ſelfiſhneſs prevails, or in any ſtate where great population requires extraordinary culture, the beſt method is to permit every man to ſhift for himſelf and his family: men wiſh to labour for themſelves; and they labour more ardently for themſelves, than for the public. Private property became more and more ſacred in the progreſs of arts and manufactures: to allow an artiſt of ſuperior ſkill no profit above others, would be a ſad diſcouragement to induſtry, and be ſcarce conſiſtent with juſtice.

The ſenſe of property is not confined to the human ſpecies. The beavers perceive the timber they ſtore up for food, to be their property; and the bees ſeem to have the ſame perception with reſpect to their winter's proviſion of honey. Sheep know when they are in a treſpaſs, and run to their own paſture on the firſt glimpſe of a man. Monkies do the ſame when detected in robbing an orchard. Sheep and horned cattle have a ſenſe of property with reſpect to their reſting-place in a fold or incloſure, which every one guards againſt the incroachments of others. He muſt be a ſceptic indeed, who denies that perception to rooks: thieves there are among them as among men; but if a

rook

rook purloin a ſtick from another's neſt, a council is held, much chattering enſues, and the *lex talionis* is applied by demoliſhing the neſt of the criminal. To man are furniſhed rude materials only: to convert theſe into food and clothing requires induſtry; and if he had not a ſenſe that the product of his labour belongs to himſelf, his induſtry would be faint. In general, it is pleaſant to obſerve, that the ſenſe of property is always given where it is uſeful, and never but where it is uſeful.

An ingenious writer, deſcribing the inhabitants of Guiana, who continue hunters and fiſhers, makes an eloquent harangue upon the happineſs they enjoy, in having few wants and deſires, and little notion of private property. "The manners of theſe "Indians exhibit an amiable picture of primeval "innocence and happineſs. The eaſe with which "their few wants are ſupplied, renders diviſion of "land unneceſſary; nor does it afford any temp-"tation to fraud or violence. That proneneſs to "vice, which among civilized nations is eſteemed "a propenſity of nature, has no exiſtence in a "country where every man enjoys in perfection "his native freedom and independence, without "hurting or being hurt by others. A perfect "equality of rank, baniſhing all diſtinctions but of "age and perſonal merit, promotes freedom in "converſation, and firmneſs in action, and ſuggeſts "no deſires but what may be gratified with in-

"nocence.

"nocence. Envy and difcontent cannot fubfift "where there is perfect equality; we fcarce even "hear of a difcontented lover, as there is no diffe- "rence of rank and fortune, the common obftacles "that prevent fruition. Thofe who have been "unhappily accuftomed to the refinements of luxu- "ry, will fcarce be able to conceive, that an In- "dian, with no covering but what modefty re- "quires, with no fhelter that deferves the name "of a houfe, and with no food but of the coarfeft "kind, painfully procured by hunting, can feel "any happinefs: and yet, to judge from external "appearance, the happinefs of thefe people may "be envied by the wealthy of the moft refined na- "tions; and juftly, becaufe their ignorance of ex- "travagant defires, and endlefs purfuits, that tor- "ment the great world, excludes every wifh be- "yond the prefent. In a word, the inhabitants "of Guiana are an example of what Socrates juftly "obferves, That they who want the leaft, approach "the neareft to the gods, who want nothing." It is admitted, that the innocence of favages, here painted in fine colours, is in every refpect more amiable than the luxury of the opulent. But is our author unacquainted with a middle ftate, more fuitable than either extreme to the dignity of human nature? The appetite for property is not beftowed upon us in vain: it has given birth to many arts: it is highly beneficial by furnifhing opportunity for gratifying the moft dignified natural

tural affections; for without private property, what place would there be for benevolence or charity *? Without private property there would be no induſtry; and without induſtry, men would remain ſavages for ever.

The appetite for property, in its nature a great bleſſing, degenerates, I acknowledge, into a great curſe when it tranſgreſſes the bounds of moderation. Before money was introduced, the appetite ſeldom was immoderate, becauſe plain neceſſaries were its only objects. But money is a ſpecies of property, of ſuch extenſive uſe as greatly to inflame the appetite. Money prompts men to be induſtrious; and the beautiful productions of induſtry and art, rouſing the imagination, excite a violent deſire for grand houſes, fine gardens, and for every thing gay and ſplendid. Habitual wants multiply: luxury and ſenſuality gain ground: the appetite for property becomes headſtrong, and muſt be gratified, even at the expence of juſtice and honour. Examples of this progreſs are without number; and yet the following hiſtory deſerves to be kept in memory, as a ſtriking and lamentable illuſtration. Hiſpaniola was that part of America which Columbus firſt diſcovered *anno* 1497. He landed upon the territory of Guacanaric, one of the principal Cacics of the iſland. That prince, who had nothing barbarous in his manners, recei-

* Hiſtorical Law Tracts, Tract 3.

ved his guefts with cordiality, and encouraged his people to vie with one another in obliging them. To gratify the Spanifh appetite for gold, they parted freely with their richeft ornaments; and, in return, were fatisfied with glafs beads, and fuch baubles. The Admiral's fhip having been dafhed againft the rocks in a hurricane, Guacanaric was not wanting to his friend on that occafion: he convened a number of men to affift in unloading the fhip; and attended himfelf till the cargo was fafely lodged. The Admiral having occafion to return to Spain, left a part of his crew behind; who, forgetting the leffons of moderation he had taught them, turned licentious. The remonftrances of Guacanaric were fruitlefs: they feized upon the gold and wives of the Indians, and in general treated them with great cruelty. Such enormities did not long pafs unrefented: the rapacious Spaniards, after much bloodfhed, were fhut up in their fort, and reduced to extremity. Unhappily a reinforcement arrived from Spain: a long and bloody war enfued, which did not end till the iflanders were entirely fubdued. Of this ifland, about 200 leagues in length, and between fixty and eighty in breadth, a Spanifh hiftorian bears witnefs, that the inhabitants amounted to a million when Columbus landed *. The Spaniards, relentlefs in their cruelty, forced thefe poor people to abandon the culture of their

* The numbers poffibly are exaggerated. But whether a million, or a half of that number, the moral is the fame.

their fields, and to retire to the woods and mountains. Hunted like wild beaſts even in theſe retreats, they fled from mountain to mountain, till hunger and fatigue, which deſtroyed more than the ſword, made them deliver themſelves up to their implacable enemies. There remained at that time but 60,000, who were divided among the Spaniards as ſlaves. Exceſſive fatigue in the mines, and want even of neceſſaries, reduced them in five years to 14,000. Conſidering them to be only beaſts of burden, they would have yielded more profit had they been treated with leſs inhumanity. Avarice frequently counteracts its own end: by graſping too much, it loſes all. The Emperor Charles reſolved to apply ſome remedy; but being retarded by various avocations, he got intelligence that the poor Indians were totally extirpated. And they were ſo in reality, a handful excepted, who lay hid in the mountains, and ſubſiſted as by a miracle in the midſt of their enemies. That handful were diſcovered many years after by ſome hunters, who treated them with humanity, regretting perhaps the barbarity of their forefathers. The poor Indians, docile and ſubmiſſive, embraced the Chriſtian religion, and aſſumed by degrees the manners and cuſtoms of their maſters. They ſtill exiſt, and live by hunting and fiſhing.

Affection for property! Janus double-faced, productive of many bleſſings, but degenerating often to be a curſe. In thy right hand, Induſtry, a cor-

nucopia *of plenty:* in thy left, Avarice, a Pandora's box *of deadly poiſon.*

SKETCH III.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF COMMERCE.

THE few wants of men in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, are ſupplied by barter in its rudeſt form. In barter, the rational conſideration is, what is wanted by the one, and what can be ſpared by the other. But ſavages are not always ſo clear-ſighted: a ſavage who wants a knife, will give for it any thing that is leſs uſeful to him at the time, without conſidering either the preſent wants of the perſon he is dealing with, or his own future wants. An inhabitant of Guiana will for a fiſh-hook give more at one time, than at another he will give for a hatchet, or for a gun. Kempfer reports, that an inhabitant of Puli Timor, an iſland adjacent to Malacca, will, for a bit of coarſe linen not worth three-halfpence, give proviſions worth three or four ſhillings. But people improve by degrees, attending to what is wanted on the one ſide, and to what can be ſpared on the other; and in that leſſon, the American ſavages in our neighbourhood are not a little expert.

Barter

Barter or permutation, in its original form, proved miſerably deficient when men and their wants multiplied. That ſort of commerce cannot be carried on at a diſtance; and, even among neighbours, it does not always happen that the one can ſpare what the other wants. Barter is ſomewhat enlarged by covenants: a buſhel of wheat is delivered to me, upon my promiſing an equivalent at a future time. But what if I have nothing that my neighbour may have occaſion for? or what if my promiſe be not relied on? Thus barter, even with the aid of covenants, proves ſtill defective. The numberleſs wants of men cannot readily be ſupplied, without ſome commodity in general eſtimation, which will be gladly accepted in exchange for every other. That commodity ought not to be bulky, nor be expenſive in keeping, nor be conſumable by time. Gold and ſilver are metals that poſſeſs theſe properties in an eminent degree. They are at the ſame time perfectly homogeneous in whatever country produced: two maſſes of pure gold or of pure ſilver are always equal in value, provided they be of the ſame weight. Theſe metals are alſo diviſible into ſmall parts, convenient to be given for goods of ſmall value *.

* "Origo emendi vendendique à permutationibus cœpit. Olim enim non ita erat nummus: neque aliud *merx*, aliud *pretium* vocabatur; ſed unuſquiſque, ſecundum neceſſitatem temporum,

Gold and ſilver, when introduced into commerce, were probably bartered, like other commodities, by bulk merely. Rock-ſalt in Ethiopia, white as ſnow, and hard as ſtone, is to this day bartered in that manner with other goods. It is dug out of the mountain Lafta, formed into plates a foot long, and three inches broad and thick; and a portion is broken off equivalent in value to the thing wanted. But more accuracy came to be introduced into the commerce of gold and ſilver: inſtead of being given looſely by bulk, every portion was weighed in ſcales: and this method of barter is practiſed in China, in Ethiopia, and in many other countries. Even weight was at length diſcovered to be an imperfect ſtandard. Ethiopian ſalt may be proof againſt adulteration; but weight is no ſecurity againſt mixing gold and ſilver with baſe metals. To prevent that fraud, pieces of gold and ſilver are impreſſed with a public ſtamp, vouching both the purity and quantity; and ſuch pieces are termed *coin*. This was a notable improvement in commerce;

porum, ac rerum, utilibus inutilia permutabat, quando plerumque evenit, ut quod alteri ſupereſt, alteri deſit. Sed quia non ſemper, nec facilè concurrebat, ut, cùm tu haberes quod ego deſiderarem, invicem haberem quod tu accipere velles, electa materia eſt, cujus publica ac perpetua æſtimatio difficultatibus permutationum, æqualitate quantitatis ſubveniret: ea [quæ] materia formâ publicâ percuſſâ, uſum dominiumque non tam ex ſubſtantia præbet, quàm ex quantitate; nec ultra *merx* utrumque, ſed alterum *pretium* vocatur;" *l.* 1. *Digeſt. De contrahenda emptione.*

commerce; and was probably at firſt thought complete. It was not foreſeen, that theſe metals wear by much handling in the courſe of circulation; and conſequently, that in time the public ſtamp is reduced to be a voucher of the purity only, not of the quantity. Hence proceed manifold inconveniences; for which no other remedy occurs, but to reſtore the former method of weighing, truſting to the ſtamp for the purity only. This proves an embarraſſment in commerce, which is remedied by the uſe of paper-money. And paper-money is attended with another advantage, that of preventing the loſs of much gold and ſilver by wearing. Formerly in China, gold and ſilver were coined as among us; but the wearing of coin by handling obliged them to recur to ſcales; and now weight alone is relied on for determining the quantity. Copper is the only metal that is circulated among them without weighing; and it is with it that ſmall debts are paid, and ſmall purchaſes made.

When gold or ſilver in bullion is exchanged with other commodities, ſuch commerce paſſes under the common name of *barter* or *permutation:* when current coin is exchanged, ſuch commerce is termed *buying* and *ſelling;* and the money exchanged is termed *the price of the goods.*

As commerce cannot be carried on to any extent without a ſtandard for comparing goods of different kinds, and as every commercial country is poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſtandard, it ſeems difficult to

ſay by what means the ſtandard has been eſtabliſhed. It is plainly not founded on nature; for the different kinds of goods have naturally no common meaſure by which they can be valued: two quarters of wheat can be compared with twenty; but what rule have we for comparing wheat with broad-cloth, or either of them with gold, or gold with ſilver or copper? Several ingenious writers have endeavoured to account for the comparative value of commodities, by reducing them all to the labour employed in raiſing food; which labour is ſaid to be a ſtandard for meaſuring the value of all other labour, and conſequently of all things produced by labour. "If, for example, a buſhel of "wheat and an ounce of ſilver be produced by "the ſame quantity of labour, will they not be "equal in value?" This ſtandard is imperfect in many reſpects. I obſerve, firſt, that to give it a plauſible appearance, there is a neceſſity to maintain, contrary to fact, that all materials on which labour is employed are of equal value. It requires as much labour to make a braſs candleſtick as one of ſilver, though far from being of the ſame value. A buſhel of wheat may ſometimes equal in value an ounce of ſilver; but an ounce of gold does not always require more labour than a buſhel of wheat; and yet they differ widely in value. The value of labour, it is true, enters into the value of every thing produced by it; but is far from making the whole value. If an ounce of ſilver were

of

of no greater value than the labour of procuring it, that ounce would go for payment of the labour, and nothing be left to the proprietor of the mine: ſuch a doctrine will not reliſh with the King of Spain; and as little with the Kings of Golconda and Portugal, proprietors of the diamond-mines. Secondly, The ſtandard under review ſuppoſes every ſort of labour to be of equal value, which however will not be maintained. An uſeful art in great requeſt may not be generally known: the few who are ſkilful will juſtly demand more for their labour than the common rate. An expert huſbandman beſtows no more labour in raiſing a hundred buſhels of wheat, than his ignorant neighbour in raiſing fifty: if labour be the only ſtandard, the two crops ought to afford the ſame price. Was not Raphael entitled to a higher price for one of his fine pictures, than a dunce is for a tavern-ſign, ſuppoſing the labour to have been equal? Laſtly, As this ſtandard is applicable to things only that require labour, what rule is to be followed with reſpect to natural fruits, and other things that require no labour?

Where a pound of one commodity gives the ſame price with a pound of another, theſe commodities are ſaid to be of equal value; and therefore, whatever rule can be given for the price of commodities, that rule determines alſo their comparative values. Monteſquieu * attempts to account for

* Liv. 22. ch. 7.

for the price as follows. He begins with ſuppoſing, that there is but one commodity in commerce, diviſible like gold and ſilver into parts, the parts like thoſe of gold and ſilver uniform and equally perfect. Upon that ſuppoſition, the price, ſays he, of the whole commodity collected into a maſs, will be the whole current gold and ſilver; and the price of any particular quantity of the former, will be the correſponding quantity of the latter, the tenth or twentieth part of the one correſponding to the tenth or twentieth part of the other. He goes on to apply the ſame computation to all the variety of goods in commerce; and concludes in general, that as the whole maſs of goods in commerce correſponds to the whole maſs of gold and ſilver in commerce as its price, ſo the price of the tenth or twentieth part of the former will be the tenth or twentieth part of the latter. According to this computation, all different goods muſt give the ſame price, or, which is the ſame, be of equal value, provided their weight or meaſure be the ſame. Our author certainly did not intend ſuch an abſurdity; and yet I can draw no other inference from his reaſoning. In the very next chapter he admits the Negroes on the coaſt of Afric to be an exception from the general rule, who, ſays he, value commodities according to the uſe they have for them. But, do not all nations value commodities in the ſame manner?

Rejecting,

Rejecting, then, the foregoing attempts to account for the comparative value of commodities, I take a hint from what was laſt ſaid to maintain, that it is the demand chiefly which fixes the value of every commodity. Quantity beyond the demand renders even neceſſaries of no value; of which water is an inſtance. It may be held accordingly as a general rule, That the value of goods in commerce depends on a demand beyond what their quantity can ſatisfy; and riſes in proportion to the exceſs of the demand above the quantity. Even water becomes valuable in countries where the demand exceeds the quantity: in arid regions, ſprings of water are highly valued; and, in old times, were frequently the occaſion of broils and bloodſhed. Comparing next different commodities with reſpect to value, that commodity of which the exceſs of the demand above the quantity is the greater, will be of the greater value. Were utility or intrinſic value only to be conſidered, a pound of iron would be worth ten pounds of gold; but as the exceſs of the demand for gold above its quantity is much greater than that of iron, the latter is of leſs value in the market. A pound of opium, or of Jeſuits bark, is, for its ſalutary effects, more valuable than gold; and yet, for the reaſon given, a pound of gold will purchaſe many pounds of theſe drugs. Thus, in general, the exceſs of the demand above the quantity is the ſtandard that chiefly fixes the mercantile

tile value of commodities*. Intereſt is the price or premium given for the loan of money; and the rate of intereſt, like the price of other commodities, is regulated by the demand. Many borrowers and few lenders produce high intereſt: many lenders and few borrowers produce low intereſt †.

The cauſes that make a demand ſeem not ſo eaſily aſcertained. One thing is evident, that the demand for neceſſaries in any country, muſt depend on the number of its inhabitants. This rule holds not ſo ſtrictly in articles of convenience; becauſe ſome people are more greedy of conveniences than others. As to articles of taſte and luxury, the demand appears ſo arbitrary as not to be reducible to any rule. A taſte for beauty is general, but ſo different in different perſons, as to make the demand extremely variable: the faint repreſentation of any plant in an agate, is valued by ſome for its rarity; but the demand is far from being univerſal. Savages are deſpiſed for being fond of

* In a voyage to Arabia Fælix, ann. 1708, the King of the territory where the crew landed, gave them an ox weighing a thouſand or twelve hundred pounds for a fuſee, and three-ſcore pound-weight of rice for twenty-eight ounces of gun-powder. The goods bartered were eſtimated according to the wants of each party, or, in other words, according to the demand above the quantity.

† From what is ſaid in the treatiſe *Des corps politiques*, (liv. 6. ch. 8.) it appears doubtful whether high or low intereſt be the moſt friendly to commerce.

of glaſs-beads; but were ſuch toys equally rare among us, they would be coveted by many: a copper coin of the Emperor Otho is of no intrinſic value, and yet, for its rarity, would draw a great price.

The value of gold and ſilver in commerce, like that of other commodities, was at firſt, we may believe, both arbitrary and fluctuating; and, like other commodities, they found in time their value in the market. With reſpect to value, however, there is a great difference between money and other commodities. Goods that are expenſive in keeping, ſuch as cattle, or that are impaired by time, ſuch as corn, will always be firſt offered in exchange for what is wanted; and when ſuch goods are offered to ſale, the vender muſt be contented with the current price: in making the bargain, the purchaſer has the advantage; for he ſuffers not by reſerving his money to a better market. And thus commodities are brought down by money, to the loweſt value that can afford any profit. At the ſame time, gold and ſilver ſooner find their value than other commodities. The value of the latter depends both on the quantity and on the demand; the value of the former depends on the quantity only, the demand being unbounded: and even with reſpect to quantity, theſe precious metals are leſs variable than other commodities.

Gold and ſilver, being thus ſooner fixed in their value than other commodities, become a ſtandard for

for valuing every other commodity, and, conſequently, for comparative values. A buſhel of wheat, for example, being valued at five ſhillings, a yard of broad-cloth at fifteen, their comparative values are as one to three.

A ſtandard of values is eſſential to commerce; and therefore, where gold and ſilver are unknown, other ſtandards are eſtabliſhed in practice. The only ſtandard among the ſavages of North America is the ſkin of a beaver. Ten of theſe are given for a gun, two for a pound of gunpowder, one for four pounds of lead, one for ſix knives, one for a hatchet, ſix for a coat of woollen cloth, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of tobacco. Some nations in Africa employ ſhells, termed *couries*, for a ſtandard.

As my chief view in this ſketch is, to examine how far induſtry and commerce are affected by the quantity of circulating coin, I premiſe the following plain propoſitions. Suppoſing, firſt, the quantity of money in circulation, and the quantity of goods in the market, to continue the ſame, the price will riſe and fall with the demand. For when more goods are demanded than the market affords, thoſe who offer the higheſt price will be preferred: as, on the other hand, when the goods brought to market exceed the demand, the venders have no reſource but to entice purchaſers by a low price. The price of fiſh, fleſh, butter, and cheeſe, is much higher than formerly; for theſe being

being now the daily food even of the loweſt people, the demand for them is greatly increaſed.

Suppoſing a fluctuation in the quantity of goods only, the price falls as the quantity increaſes, and riſes as the quanity decreaſes. The farmer whoſe quantity of corn is doubled by a favourable ſeaſon, muſt ſell at half the uſual price; becauſe the purchaſer, who ſees a ſuperfluity, will pay no more for it. The contrary happens upon a ſcanty crop: thoſe who want corn, muſt ſtarve, or give the market-price, however high. The manufactures of wool, flax, and metals, are much cheaper than formerly; for though the demand has increaſed, yet by ſkill and induſtry the quantities produced have increaſed in a greater proportion. More potherbs are conſumed than formerly: and yet by ſkilful culture the quantity is ſo much greater in proportion, as to have lowered the price to leſs than one-half of what is was eighty years ago.

It is eaſy to combine the quantity and demand, ſuppoſing a fluctuation of both. Where the quantity exceeds the uſual demand, more people will be tempted to purchaſe by the low price; and where the demand riſes conſiderably above the quantity, the price will riſe in proportion. In mathematical language, theſe propoſitions may be thus expreſſed, That the price is *directly* as the demand, and *inverſely* as the quantity.

A variation in the quantity of circulating coin is the moſt intricate circumſtance; becauſe it never happens

happens without making a variation in the demand for goods, and frequently in the quantity. I take the liberty, however, to ſuppoſe that there is no variation but in the quantity of circulating coin; for though that cannot happen in reality, yet the reſult of the ſuppoſition will throw light upon what really happens: the ſubject is involved, and I wiſh to make it plain. I put a ſimple caſe, that the half of our current coin is at once ſwept away by ſome extraordinary accident. This at firſt will embarraſs our internal commerce, as the vender will inſiſt for the uſual price, which now cannot be afforded. But the error of ſuch demand will ſoon be diſcovered; and the price of commodities, after ſome fluctuation, will ſettle at the one-half of what it was formerly. At the ſame time, there is here no downfal in the value of commodities, which cannot happen while the quantity and demand continue unvaried. The purchaſing for a ſixpence what formerly coſt a ſhilling, makes no alteration in the value of the thing purchaſed; becauſe a ſixpence is equal in value to what a ſhilling was formerly. In a word, when money is ſcarce, it muſt bear a high value: it muſt in particular go far in the purchaſe of goods; which we expreſs by ſaying, that goods are cheap. Put next the caſe, that by ſome accident our coin is inſtantly doubled: the reſult muſt be, not inſtantaneous indeed, to double the price of commodities. Upon the former ſuppoſition, a ſixpence is in effect advanced to be

a ſhilling: upon the preſent ſuppoſition, a ſhilling has in effect ſunk down to a ſixpence. And here again it ought to be obſerved, that though the price is augmented, there is no real alteration in the value of commodities. A bullock that, ſome years ago, could have been purchaſed for ten pounds, will at preſent yield fifteen. The vulgar ignorantly think, that the value of horned cattle has ariſen in that proportion. The advanced price may, in ſome degree, be occaſioned by a greater conſumption; but it is chiefly occaſioned by a greater quantity of money in circulation.

Combining all the circumſtances, the reſult is, that if the quantity of goods and of money continue the ſame, the price will be in proportion to the demand. If the demand and quantity of goods continue the ſame, the price will be in proportion to the quantity of money. And if the demand and quantity of money continue the ſame, the price will fall as the quantity increaſes, and riſe as the quantity diminiſhes.

Theſe ſpeculative notions will enable us with accuracy to examine, how induſtry and commerce are affected by variations in the quantity of circulating coin. It is evident, that arts and manufactures cannot be carried on to any extent without coin. Perſons totally employed in any art or manufacture require wages daily or weekly, becauſe they muſt go to market for every neceſſary of life. The clothier, the tailor, the ſhoemaker, the gar-

dener, the farmer, muſt employ ſervants to prepare their goods for the market; to whom, for that reaſon, wages ought to be regularly paid. In a word, commerce among an endleſs number of individuals, who depend on each other even for neceſſaries, would be inextricable without a quantity of circulating coin. Money may be juſtly conceived to be the oil, that lubricates all the ſprings and wheels of a great machine, and preſerves it in motion*. Suppoſing us now to be provided with no more of that precious oil than is barely ſufficient for the eaſy motion of our induſtry and manufactures, a diminution of the neceſſary quantity muſt retard them: our induſtry and manufactures muſt decay; and if we do not confine the expence of living to our preſent circumſtances, which ſeldom happens, the balance of trade with foreign nations will turn againſt us, and leave us no reſource for making the balance equal but to export our gold and ſilver. And when we are drained of theſe metals, farewell to arts and manufactures: we ſhall be reduced to the condition of ſavages,

* Money cannot be juſtly ſaid to be deficient where there is ſufficiency to purchaſe every commodity, and to pay for every kind of labour that is wanted. Any greater quantity is hurtful to commerce, as will be ſeen afterward. But to be forced to contract debt even when one deals prudently and profitably, and conſequently to be ſubjected to legal execution, is a proof, by no means ambiguous, of ſcarcity of money, which till of late was remarkably the caſe in Scotland.

vages, which is, that each individual muſt depend entirely on his own labour for procuring every neceſſary of life. The conſequences of the balance turning for us, are at firſt directly oppoſite: but at the long-run come to be the ſame: they are ſweet in the mouth, but bitter in the ſtomach. An influx of riches by this balance, rouſes our activity. Plenty of money elevates our ſpirits, and inſpires an appetite for pleaſure: we indulge a taſte for ſhow and embelliſhment, become hoſpitable, and refine upon the arts of luxury. Plenty of money is a prevailing motive even with the moſt ſedate, to exert themſelves in building, in huſbandry, in manufactures, and in other ſolid improvements. Such articles require both hands and materials, the prices of which are raiſed by the additional demand. The labourer now whoſe wages are thus raiſed, is not ſatisfied with mere neceſſaries, but inſiſts for conveniences, the price of which alſo is raiſed by the new demand. In ſhort, increaſe of money raiſes the price of every commodity; partly from the greater quantity of money, and partly from the additional demand for ſupplying artificial wants. Hitherto a delightful view of proſperous commerce: but behold the remote conſequences. High wages at firſt promote induſtry, and double the quantity of labour: but the utmoſt exertion of labour is limited within certain bounds; and a perpetual influx of gold and ſilver will not for ever be attended with a proportional

quantity of work! The price of labour will rise in proportion to the quantity of money; but the produce will not rise in the same proportion; and for that reason our manufactures will be dearer than formerly. Hence a dismal scene. The high price at home of our manufactures will exclude us from foreign markets; for if the merchant cannot draw there for his goods what he paid at home, with some profit, he must abandon foreign commerce altogether. And, what is still more dismal, we shall be deprived even of our own markets; for in spite of the utmost vigilance, foreign commodities, cheaper than our own, will be poured in upon us. The last scene is to be deprived of our gold and silver, and reduced to the same miserable state as if the balance had been against us from the beginning.

However certain it may be, that an addition to the quantity of money must raise the price of labour and of manufactures, yet there is a fact that seems to contradict the proposition, which is, that in no other country are labour and manufactures so cheap as in the two peninsulas on the right and left of the Ganges, though in no other country is there such plenty of money. To account for this singular fact, political writers say, that money is there amassed by the Nabobs, and withdrawn from circulation. This is not satisfactory: the chief exportation from these peninsulas is their manufactures, the price of which comes first to the merchant

chant and manufacturer; and how can that happen without raising the price of labour? Rice, it is true, is the food of their labouring poor; and an acre of rice yields more food than five acres of wheat: but the cheapness of necessaries, though it hath a considerable influence in keeping down the price of labour, cannot keep it constantly down, in opposition to an overflowing current of money. The populousness of these two countries is a circumstance totally overlooked. Every traveller is amazed how such swarms of people can find bread, however fertile the soil may be. Let us examine that circumstance. One thing is evident, that, were the people fully employed, there would not be a demand for the tenth part of their manufactures. Here, then, is a country where hand-labour is a drug for want of employment. The people, at the same time, sober and inclining to industry, are glad to be employed at any rate; and whatever pittance is gained by labour, makes always some addition. Hence it is, that in these peninsulas, superfluity of hands overbalancing both the quantity of money and the demand for their manufactures, serves to keep the price extremely low.

What is now said discovers an exception to the proposition above laid down. It holds undoubtedly in Europe, and in every country where there is work for all the people, that an addition to the circulating coin raises the price of labour and of

manufactures; but ſuch addition has no ſenſible effect in a country where there is a ſuperfluity of hands, who are always diſpoſed to work when they find employment.

From theſe premiſes it is evident, that, unleſs there is a ſuperfluity of hands, manufactures can never flouriſh in a country abounding with mines of gold and ſilver. This in effect is the caſe of Spain: a conſtant influx of theſe metals, raiſing the price of labour and manufactures, has deprived the Spaniards of foreign markets, and alſo of their own: they are reduced to purchaſe from ſtrangers even the neceſſaries of life. What a diſmal condition will they be reduced to, when their mines come to be exhauſted! The Gold coaſt in Guinea has its name from the plenty of gold that is found there. As it is waſhed from the hills with the ſoil in ſmall quantities, every one is on the watch for it; and the people, like gameſters, deſpiſe every other occupation. They are accordingly lazy and poor. The kingdom of Fidah, in the neighbourhood, where there is no gold, is populous: the people are induſtrious, deal in many branches of manufacture, and are all in eaſy circumſtances.

To illuſtrate this obſervation, which is of great importance, I enter more minutely into the condition of Spain. The rough materials of ſilk, wool, and iron, are produced there more perfect than in any other country; and yet flouriſhing manufactures

tures of these, would be ruinous to it in its present state. Let us only suppose, that Spain itself could furnish all the commodities that are demanded in its American territories, what would be the consequence? The gold and silver produced by that trade would circulate in Spain: money would become a drug: labour and manufactures would rise to a high price; and every necessary of life, not excepting manufactures of silk, wool, and iron, would be smuggled into Spain, the high price there being sufficient to overbalance every risk: Spain would be left without industry, and without people. Spain was actually in the flourishing state here supposed when America was discovered: the American gold and silver mines enflamed the disease, and consequently was the greatest misfortune that ever befel that once potent kingdom. The exportation of our silver coin to the East Indies, so loudly exclaimed against by shallow politicians, is to us, on the contrary, a most substantial blessing: it keeps up the value of silver, and consequently lessens the value of labour and of goods, which enable us to maintain our place in foreign markets. Were there no drain for our silver, its quantity in our continent would sink its value so much as to render the American mines unprofitable. Notwithstanding the great flow of money to the East Indies, many mines in the West Indies are given up, because they afford not the expence of working; and were the value of silver in Europe

brought much lower, the whole ſilver mines in the Weſt Indies would be abandoned. Thus our Eaſt-India commerce, which is thought ruinous by many, becauſe it is a drain to much of our ſilver, is for that very reaſon profitable to all. The Spaniards profit by importing it into Europe; and other nations profit, by receiving it for their manufactures.

How ignorantly do people ſtruggle againſt the neceſſary chain of cauſes and effects! If money do not overflow, a commerce in which the imports exceed in value the exports, will ſoon drain a nation of money, and put an end to its induſtry. Commercial nations for that reaſon ſtruggle hard for the balance of trade; and they fondly imagine, that it cannot be too advantageous. If greatly advantageous to them, it muſt in the ſame proportion be diſadvantageous to thoſe they deal with; which proves equally ruinous to both. They foreſee indeed, but without concern, immediate ruin to thoſe they deal with; but they have no inclination to foreſee, that ultimately it muſt prove equally ruinous to themſelves. It appears the intention of Providence that all nations ſhould benefit by commerce as by ſun-ſhine; and it is ſo ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers as well as to the loſers: the latter are immediate ſufferers; but no leſs ſo, ultimately, are the former. This is one remarkable inſtance, among many, of providential wiſdom in conducting human

man affairs, independent of the will of man, and frequently againſt his will. An ambitious nation, placed advantageouſly for trade, would willingly engroſs all to themſelves, and reduce their neighbours to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. But an invincible bar is oppoſed to ſuch ambition, making an overgrown commerce the means of its own deſtruction. The commercial balance held by the hand of Providence, is never permitted to preponderate much to one ſide; and every nation partakes, or may partake, of all the comforts of life. Engroſſing is bad policy: men are prompted, both by intereſt and duty, to ſecond the plan of Providence; and to preſerve, as near as poſſible, equality in the balance of trade.

Upon theſe principles, a wiſe people, having acquired a ſtock of money ſufficient for an extenſive commerce, will tremble at a balance too advantageous: they will reſt ſatisfied with an equal balance, which is the golden mean. A hurtful balance may be guarded againſt by induſtry and frugality: but by what means is a balance too favourable to be guarded againſt? With reſpect to that queſtion, it is not the quantity of gold and ſilver in a country that raiſes the price of labour and manufactures, but the quantity in circulation; and may not that quantity be regulated by the ſtate, permitting coinage as far only as is beneficial to its manufactures? Let the regiſters of foreign mints be carefully watched, in order that

our

our current coin may not exceed that of our induſtrious neighbours. There will always be a demand for the ſurplus of our bullion, either to be exported as a commodity, or to be purchaſed at home for plate; which cannot be too much encouraged, being ready at every criſis to be coined for public ſervice. The ſenate of Genoa has wiſely burdened porcelain with a heavy tax, being a foreign luxury; but it has no leſs wiſely left gold and ſilver plate free; which we moſt unwiſely have loaded with a duty *.

The accumulating money in the public treaſury, anciently the practice of every prudent monarch, prevents ſuperfluity. Lies there any good objection againſt that practice in a trading nation, where gold and ſilver flow in with impetuoſity? A great ſum locked up by a frugal King, Henry VII. of England for example, leſſens the quantity of money in circulation: profuſion in a ſucceſſor, which was the caſe with Henry VIII., is a ſpur to induſtry, ſimilar to the influx of gold and ſilver from the new world. The canton of Berne, by locking up money in its treaſury, poſſeſſes the miraculous art of reconciling immenſe wealth with frugality and cheap labour. A climate not kindly, and a ſoil not naturally fertile, enured the inhabitants to temperance and to virtue. Patriotiſm is their ruling paſſion; they conſider themſelves as children

* That duty is wiſely taken away by a late act.

children of the republic; are fond of ſerving their mother: and hold themſelves ſufficiently recompenſed by the privilege of ſerving her. The public revenue greatly exceeds the expence of government: they carefully lock up the ſurplus for purchaſing land when a proper opportunity offers; which is a ſhining proof of their diſintereſtedneſs as well as of their wiſdom. By that politic meaſure, much more than by war, the canton of Berne, from a very ſlender origin, is now far ſuperior to any of the other cantons in extent of territory. But in what other part of the globe are there to be found miniſters of ſtate, moderate and diſintereſted like the citizens of Berne! In the hands of a Britiſh miniſtry, the greateſt treaſure would vaniſh in the twinkling of an eye; and do more miſchief, by augmenting money in circulation above what is ſalutary, than formerly it did good by confining it within moderate bounds. But againſt ſuch a meaſure there lies an objection ſtill more weighty than its being an ineffectual remedy: in the hands of an ambitious prince, it would prove dangerous to liberty.

If the foregoing meaſures be not reliſhed, I can diſcover no other means for preſerving our ſtation in foreign markets, but a bounty on exportation. The ſum would be great: but the preſerving our induſtry and manufactures, and the preventing an influx of foreign manufactures, cannot be purchaſed too dear. At the ſame time, a bounty on exportation

tation would not be an unſupportable load: on the contrary, ſuperfluity of wealth, procured by a balance conſtantly favourable, would make the load abundantly eaſy. A proper bounty would balance the growing price of labour and materials at home, and keep open the foreign market. By neglecting that ſalutary meaſure, the Dutch have loſt all their manufactures; a neglect that has greatly benefited both England and France. The Dutch indeed act prudently in withholding that benefit as much as poſſible from their powerful neighbours: to prevent purchaſing from them, they conſume the manufactures of India.

The manufactures of Spain, once extenſive, have been extirpated by their gold and ſilver mines. Authors aſcribe to the ſame cauſe the decline of their agriculture; but erroneouſly: on the contrary, ſuperfluity of gold and ſilver is favourable to agriculture, by raiſing the price of its productions. It raiſes alſo, it is true, the price of labour; but that additional expence is far from balancing the profit made by high prices of whatever the ground produces. Too much wealth indeed is apt to make the tenant preſs into a higher rank: but that is eaſily prevented by a proper heightening of the rent, ſo as always to confine the tenant within his own ſphere.

As gold and ſilver are eſſential to commerce, foreign and domeſtic, ſeveral commercial nations have endeavoured moſt abſurdly to bar the exportation

tation by penal laws; forgetting that gold and silver will never be exported while the balance of trade is on their side, and that they must necessarily be exported when the balance is against them. Neither do they consider, that if a people continue industrious, they cannot be long afflicted with an unfavourable balance; for the value of money, rising in proportion to its scarcity, will lower the price of their manufactures, and promote exportation: the balance will turn in their favour; and money will flow in, till by plenty its value be reduced to a par with that of neighbouring nations.

It is an important question, Whether a bank, upon the whole, be friendly to commerce. It is undoubtedly a spur to industry, like a new influx of money; but then, like such influx, it raises the price of labour and of manufactures. Weighing these two facts in a just balance, the result seems to be, that in a country where money is scarce, a bank properly constituted is a great blessing, as it in effect increases the quantity of money, and promotes industry and manufactures; but that in a country which possesses money sufficient for extensive commerce, the only bank that will not injure foreign commerce, is what is erected for supplying the merchant with ready money by discounting bills. At the same time, much caution and circumspection is necessary with respect to banks of both kinds. A bank erected for discounting bills, ought to be confined to bills really granted

ed in the courſe of commerce; rejecting fictitious bills drawn merely for procuring a loan of money. And with reſpect to a bank purpoſely erected for lending money, there is great danger of extending credit too far; not only with reſpect to the bank itſelf, but with reſpect to the nation in general, by raiſing the price of labour and of manufactures, which is the never-failing reſult of too great plenty of money, whether coin or paper.

The different effects of plenty and ſcarcity of money, have not eſcaped that penetrating genius, the Sovereign of Pruſſia. Money is not ſo plentiful in his dominions as to make it neceſſary to withdraw a quantity by heaping up treaſure. He indeed always retains in his treaſury ſix or ſeven millions Sterling for anſwering unforeſeen demands: but being ſenſible that the withdrawing from circulation any larger ſum would be prejudicial to commerce, every farthing ſaved from the neceſſary expence of government, is laid out upon buildings, upon operas, upon any thing rather than cramp circulation. In that kingdom, a bank eſtabliſhed for lending money would promote induſtry and manufactures.

SKETCH

SKETCH IV.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF ARTS.

SECTION I.

Useful Arts.

SOME useful arts must be nearly coëval with the human race; for food, clothing, and habitation, even in their original simplicity, require some art. Many other arts are of such antiquity as to place the inventors beyond the reach of tradition. Several have gradually crept into existence, without an inventor. The busy mind, however, accustomed to a beginning in things, cannot rest till it find or imagine a beginning to every art. Bacchus is said to have invented wine; and Staphylus the mixing water with wine. The bow and arrow are ascribed by tradition to Scythos, son of Jupiter, though a weapon all the world over. Spinning is so useful, that it must be honoured with some illustrious inventor: it was ascribed by the Egyptians to their goddess Isis; by the Greeks to Minerva;

Minerva; by the Peruvians to Mamma Ella, wife to their firſt ſovereign Mango Capac; and by the Chineſe to the wife of their Emperor Yao. Mark here by the way a connection of ideas: ſpinning is a female occupation, and it muſt have had a female inventor *.

In the hunter-ſtate, men are wholly employed upon the procuring food, clothing, habitation, and other neceſſaries; and have no time nor zeal for ſtudying conveniences. The eaſe of the ſhepherd-ſtate affords both time and inclination for uſeful arts; which are greatly promoted by numbers who are relieved by agriculture from bodily labour: the ſoil, by gradual improvements in huſbandry, affords plenty with leſs labour than at firſt; and the ſurplus hands are employed, firſt, in uſeful arts, and, next, in thoſe of amuſement. Arts accordingly make the quickeſt progreſs in a fertile ſoil, which produces plenty with little labour. Arts flouriſhed early in Egypt and Chaldea, countries extremely fertile.

When men, who originally lived in caves like ſome wild animals, began to think of a more commodious

* The Ilinois are induſtrious above all their American neighbours. Their women are heat-handed: they ſpin the wool of their horned cattle, which is as fine as that of Engliſh ſheep. The ſtuffs made of it are dyed black, yellow, or red, and cut into garments ſewed with roe-buck ſinews. After drying theſe ſinews in the ſun, and beating them, they draw out threads as white and fine as any that are made of flax, but much tougher.

modious habitation, their firſt houſes were extremely ſimple; witneſs thoſe of the Canadian ſavages, than which none can be more ſimple, even at preſent. Their houſes, ſays Charlevoix, are built with leſs art, neatneſs, and ſolidity, than thoſe of the beavers; having neither chimneys nor windows: a hole only is left in the roof, for admitting light and emitting ſmoke. That hole muſt be ſtopped when it rains or ſnows; and, of courſe, the fire is put out, that the inhabitants may not be ſtifled with ſmoke. To have paſſed ſo many ages in that manner without thinking of any improvement, ſhows how greatly men are influenced by cuſtom. The blacks of Jamaica are ſtill more rude in their buildings: their huts are erected without even a hole in the roof; and, accordingly, at home they breathe nothing but ſmoke.

Revenge produced early hoſtile weapons. The club and the dart are obvious inventions: not ſo the bow and arrow; and for that reaſon it is not eaſy to ſay how that weapon came to be univerſal. As iron differs from other metals, being ſeldom found pure, it was a late diſcovery: at the ſiege of Troy, ſpears, darts, and arrows, were headed with braſs. Meneſtheus, who ſucceeded Theſeus in the kingdom of Athens, and led fifty ſhips to the ſiege of Troy, was reputed the firſt who marſhalled an army in battle-array. Inſtruments of defence are made neceſſary by thoſe of offence. Trunks of trees, interlaced with branches,

and ſupported with earth, made the firſt fortifications; to which ſucceeded a wall finiſhed with a parapet for ſhooting arrows at beſiegers. As a parapet covers but half of the body, holes were left in the wall from ſpace to ſpace, no larger than to give paſſage to an arrow. Beſiegers had no remedy but to beat down the wall: a battering ram was firſt uſed by Pericles the Athenian, and perfected by the Carthaginians at the ſiege of Gades. To oppoſe that formidable machine, the wall was built with advanced parapets for throwing ſtones and fire upon the enemy, which kept him at a diſtance. A wooden booth upon wheels, and puſhed cloſe to the wall, ſecured the men who wrought the battering ram. This invention was rendered ineffectual, by ſurrounding the wall with a deep and broad ditch. Beſiegers were reduced to the neceſſity of inventing engines for throwing ſtones and javelins upon thoſe who occupied the advanced parapets, in order to give opportunity for filling up the ditch; and ancient hiſtories expatiate upon the powerful operation of the catapulta and baliſta. Theſe engines ſuggeſted a new invention for defence: inſtead of a circular wall, it was built with ſalient angles, like the teeth of a ſaw, in order that one part might flank another. That form of a wall was afterwards improved, by raiſing round towers upon the ſalient angles; and the towers were improved by making them ſquare. The ancients had no occaſion for any form more complete,

complete, being ſufficient for defending againſt all the miſſile weapons at that time known. The invention of cannon required a variation in military architecture. The firſt cannons were made of iron bars, forming a concave cylinder, united by rings of copper. The firſt cannon balls were of ſtone, which required a very large aperture. A cannon was reduced to a ſmaller ſize, by uſing iron for balls inſtead of ſtone; and that deſtructive engine was perfected by making it of caſt metal. To reſiſt its force, baſtions were invented, horn-works, crown-works, half-moons, &c. &c.; and military architecture became a ſyſtem, governed by principles and general rules. But all in vain: it has indeed produced fortifications that have made ſieges horridly bloody; but artillery, at the ſame time, has been carried to ſuch perfection, and the art of attack ſo improved, that no fortification, it is thought, can be rendered impregnable. The only impregnable defence, is good neighbourhood among weak princes, ready to unite, whenever one of them is attacked by a ſuperior force. And nothing tends more effectually to promote ſuch union, than conſtant experience that fortifications cannot be relied on.

With reſpect to naval architecture, the firſt veſſels were beams joined together, and covered with planks, puſhed along with poles in ſhallow water, and in deep water drawn by animals on the ſhore. To theſe ſucceeded trunks of trees cut hollow,

termed by the Greeks *monoxyles*. The next were planks joined together in form of a monoxyle. The thought of imitating a fish advanced naval architecture. A prow was constructed in imitation of the head, a stern with a moveable helm in imitation of the tail, and oars in imitation of the fins. Sails were at last added; which invention was so early that the contriver is unknown. Before the year 1545, ships of war in England had no port-holes for guns, as at present: they had only a few cannon placed on the upper-deck.

When Homer composed his poems, at least during the Trojan war, the Greeks had not acquired the art of gelding cattle: they ate the flesh of bulls and of rams. Kings and princes killed and cooked their victuals: spoons, forks, table-cloths, napkins, were unknown. They fed sitting, the custom of reclining upon beds being afterward copied from Asia; and, like other savages, they were great eaters. At the time mentioned, they had no chimneys, nor candles, nor lamps. Torches are frequently mentioned by Homer, but lamps never: a vase was placed upon a tripod, in which was burnt dry wood for giving light. Locks and keys were not common at that time. Bundles were secured with ropes intricately combined *; and hence the famous Gordian knot. Shoes and stockings were not early known among them, nor buttons, nor saddles, nor stirrups. Plutarch reports, that

* Odyssey, b. 8. l. 483. Pope's translation.

that Gracchus caufed ftones to be erected along the highways leading from Rome, for the convenience of mounting a horfe; for at that time ftirrups were unknown in Rome, though an obvious invention. Linen for fhirts was not ufed in Rome for many years after the government became defpotic. Even fo late as the eighth century, it was not common in Europe. We are informed by Herodotus, that the Lydians were reputed to be the firft who coined gold and filver money. This was probably after the Trojan war; for during that war the Greeks and Trojans trafficked by barter, as Homer relates: Priam weighs out the ten talents of gold which were the ranfom of his fon's body.

Thales, one of the feven wife men of Greece, about fix hundred years before Chrift, invented the following method for meafuring the height of an Egyptian pyramid. He watched the progrefs of the fun, till his body and its fhadow were of the fame length; and at that inftant meafured the fhadow of the pyramid, which confequently gave its height. Amafis King of Egypt, prefent at the operation, thought it a wonderful effort of genius; and the Greeks admired it highly. Geometry muft have been in its cradle at that time. Anaximander, fome ages before Chrift, made the firft map of the earth, as far as then known. About the end of the thirteenth century, fpectacles for affifting the fight were invented by Alexander Spina, a monk of Pifa. So ufeful an invention

cannot be too much extolled. At a period of life when the judgment is in maturity, and reading is of great benefit, the eyes begin to grow dim. One cannot help pitying the condition of bookiſh men before that invention, many of whom muſt have had their ſight greatly impaired, while their appetite for reading was in vigour.

The origin and progreſs of writing make a capital article in the hiſtory of arts. To write, or, in other words, to exhibit thoughts to the eye, was early attempted in Egypt by hieroglyphics. But theſe were not confined to Egypt: figures compoſed of painted feathers were uſed in Mexico to expreſs ideas; and by ſuch figures Montezuma received intelligence of the Spaniſh invaſion: in Peru, the only arithmetical figures known were knots of various colours, which ſerved to caſt up accounts. The ſecond ſtep naturally in the progreſs of the art of writing, is, to repreſent each word by a mark, termed a *letter*, which is the Chineſe way of writing: they have about 11,000 of theſe marks or letters in common uſe; and, in matters of ſcience, they employ to the number of 60,000. Our way is far more eaſy and commodious: inſtead of marks or letters for words, which are infinite, we repreſent by marks or letters, the articulate ſounds that compoſe words: theſe ſounds exceed not thirty in number; and conſequently the ſame number of marks or letters are ſufficient for writing. It was a lucky movement to paſs at

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one ſtep from hieroglyphics, the moſt imperfect mode of writing, to letters repreſenting ſounds, the moſt perfect; for there is no appearance that the Chineſe mode was ever practiſed in this part of the world. With us, the learning to read is ſo eaſy as to be acquired in childhood; and we are ready for the ſciences as ſoon as the mind is ripe for them: the Chineſe mode, on the contrary, is an unſurmountable obſtruction to knowledge; becauſe, it being the work of a lifetime to read with eaſe, no time remains for ſtudying the ſciences. Our caſe was in ſome meaſure the ſame at the reſtoration of learning: it required an age to be familiarized with Greek and Latin; and too little time remained for gathering knowledge from books compoſed in theſe languages. The Chineſe ſtand upon a more equal footing with reſpect to arts; for theſe may be acquired by imitation or oral inſtruction, without books.

The art of writing with letters repreſenting ſounds, is of all inventions the moſt important, and the leaſt obvious. The way of writing in China makes ſo naturally the ſecond ſtep in the progreſs of the art, that our good fortune in ſtumbling upon a way ſo much more perfect cannot be ſufficiently admired, when to it we are indebted for our ſuperiority in literature above the Chineſe. Their way of writing will for ever continue an unſurmountable obſtruction to ſciences; for it is ſo rivetted by inveterate practice, that the difficulty

would not be greater to make them change their language than their letters. Hieroglyphics were a ſort of writing, ſo miſerably imperfect, as to make every improvement welcome; but as the Chineſe make a tolerable ſhift with their own letters, they never dream of any improvement. Hence it may be pronounced with great certainty, that in China, the ſciences, though ſtill in infancy, will never arrive at maturity.

There is no appearance that writing was known in Greece ſo early as the time of Homer; for in none of his works is there any mention of it. This, it is true, is but negative evidence; but negative evidence muſt always command our aſſent, where no poſitive evidence ſtands in oppoſition. If it was known, it muſt have been newly introduced, and uſed probably to record laws, religious precepts, or other ſhort compoſitions. Cyphers, invented in Hindoſtan, were brought into France from Arabia about the end of the tenth century. The art of printing made a great revolution in learning. In the days of William the Conqueror, books were extremely ſcarce. Grace Counteſs of Anjou paid for a collection of homilies two hundred ſheep, a quarter of wheat, another of rye, and a third of millet, beſides a number of martern ſkins.

Huſbandry made a progreſs from Egypt to Greece, and from Africa to Italy. Mago, a Carthaginian general, compoſed twenty-eight books

upon

upon husbandry, which were translated into Latin by order of the Roman senate. From these fine and fertile countries, it made its way to colder and less kindly climates. According to that progress, agriculture must have been practised more early in France than in Britain; and yet the English, at present, make a greater figure in that art than the French, inferiority in soil and climate notwithstanding. Before husbandry became an art in the northern parts of Europe, the French noblesse had deserted the country, fond of society in a town-life. Landed gentlemen in England, more rough, and delighting more in hunting and other country amusements, found leisure to practise agriculture. Skill in that art proceeded from them to their tenants, who now prosecute husbandry with success, though their landlords have generally betaken themseves to a town-life.

When Cæsar invaded Britain, agriculture was unknown in the inner parts: the inhabitants fed upon milk and flesh, and were clothed with skins. Hollinshed, who wrote in the period of Queen Elisabeth, describes the rudeness of the preceding generation in the arts of life: "There were very "few chimneys even in capital towns: the fire "was laid to the wall, and the smoke issued out "at the roof, or door, or window. The houses "were wattled and plastered over with clay; and "all the furniture and utensils were of wood. "The people slept on straw-pallets, with a log of "wood

"wood for a pillow." Henry II. of France, at the marriage of the Duchess of Savoy, wore the first silk stockings that were made in France. Queen Elisabeth, the third year of her reign, received in a present a pair of black silk knit stockings; and Dr Howel reports, that she never wore cloth hose any more. Before the conquest, there was a timber bridge upon the Thames between London and Southwark, which was repaired by King William Rufus, and was burnt by accident in the reign of Henry II. *anno* 1176. At that time a stone bridge in place of it was projected, but not finished till the year 1212. The bridge of Notre-Dame over the Seine in Paris, was first of wood. It fell down *anno* 1499; and, as there was not in France a man who would undertake to rebuild it of stone, an Italian cordelier was employed, whose name was *Jocunde*, the same upon whom Sanazarius made the following pun:

Jocundus geminum imposuit tibi, Sequana, pontem;
Hunc tu jure potes dicere pontificem.

Two Genoese, Stephen Turquet and Bartholomew Narres, laid in the 1536 the foundation of the silk manufacture at Lyons. The art of making glass was imported from France into England *anno* 674, for the use of monasteries. Glass windows in private houses were rare even in the twelfth century, and held to be great luxury. King Edward III. invited three clockmakers of Delft in Holland to settle

ſettle in England. In the former part of the reign of Henry VIII. there did not grow in England cabbage, carrot, turnip, or other edible root; and it has been noted, that even Queen Catharine herſelf could not command a ſalad for dinner, till the King brought over a gardener from the Netherlands. About the ſame time, the artichoke, the apricot, the damaſk roſe, made their firſt appearance in England. Turkeys, carps, and hops, were firſt known there in the year 1524. The currant-ſhrub was brought from the iſland of Zant *anno* 1533; and in the year 1540, cherry-trees from Flanders were firſt planted in Kent. It was in the year 1563 that knives were firſt made in England. Pocket-watches were brought there from Germany *anno* 1577. About the year 1580, coaches were introduced; before which time Queen Eliſabeth, on public occaſions, rode behind her chamberlain. A ſaw-mill was erected near London *anno* 1633, but afterward demoliſhed, that it might not deprive the labouring poor of employment. How crude was the ſcience of politics even in that late age? Coffee-houſes were opened in London no ſooner than the year 1652.

People who are ignorant of weights and meaſures fall upon odd ſhifts to ſupply the defect. Howel Dha Prince of Wales, who died in the year 948, was a capital lawgiver. One of his laws is, "If any one kill or ſteal the cat that guards the "Prince's granary, he forfeits a milch ewe with "her

"her lamb; or as much wheat as will cover the "cat when ſuſpended by the tail, the head touch-"ing the ground." By the ſame lawgiver a fine of twelve cows is enacted for a rape committed upon a maid, eighteen for a rape upon a matron. If the fact be proved after being denied, the criminal for his falſity pays as many ſhillings as will cover the woman's poſteriors. The meaſure of the mid ſtream for ſalmon among our forefathers is not leſs riſible. It is, that the mid ſtream ſhall be ſo wide as that a ſwine may turn itſelf in it, without touching either ſide with its ſnout or tail.

The Negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah, in Guinea, have made great advances in arts. Their towns, for the moſt part, are fortified, and connected by great roads, kept in good repair. Deep canals from river to river are commonly filled with canoes, for pleaſure ſome, and many for buſineſs. The vallies are pleaſant, producing wheat, millet, yams, potatoes, lemons, oranges, cocoa-nuts, and dates. The marſhy grounds near the ſea are drained; and ſalt is made by evaporating the ſtagnating water. Salt is carried to the inland countries by the great canal of Ba, where numberleſs canoes are daily ſeen going with ſalt, and returning with gold-duſt or other commodities.

In all countries where the people are barbarous and illiterate, the progreſs of arts is wofully ſlow. It is vouched by an old French poem, that the virtues of the loadſtone were known in France before

fore the 1180. The mariner's compaſs was exhibited at Venice *anno* 1260 by Paulus Venetus, as his own invention. John Goya of Amalphi was the firſt who, many years afterward, uſed it in navigation; and alſo paſſed for being the inventor. Though it was uſed in China for navigation long before it was known in Europe, yet to this day it is not ſo perfect as in Europe. Inſtead of ſuſpending it in order to make it act freely, it is placed upon a bed of ſand, by which every motion of the ſhip diſturbs its operation. Hand-mills, termed *querns*, were early uſed for grinding corn; and when corn came to be raiſed in greater quantity, horſe-mills ſucceeded. Water-mills for grinding corn are deſcribed by Vitruvius *. Wind-mills were known in Greece and in Arabia as early as the ſeventh century; and yet no mention is made of them in Italy till the fourteenth century. That they were not known in England in the reign of Henry VIII. appears from a houſehold-book of an Earl of Northumberland, cotemporary with that King, ſtating an allowance for three mill-horſes, "two to draw in the mill, and one to carry ſtuff "to the mill and fro." Water-mills for corn muſt in England have been of a later date. The ancients had mirror-glaſſes, and employed glaſs to imitate cryſtal vaſes and goblets: yet they never thought of uſing it in windows. In the thirteenth century, the Venetians were the only people who had

* L. 10. cap. 10.

had the art of making cryſtal-glaſs for mirrors. A clock that ſtrikes the hours was unknown in Europe till the end of the twelfth century. And hence the cuſtom of employing men to proclaim the hours during night, which to this day continues in Germany, Flanders, and England. Galileo was the firſt who conceived an idea that a pendulum might be uſeful for meaſuring time; and Hughens was the firſt who put the idea in execution, by making a pendulum clock. Hook, in the year 1660, invented a ſpiral ſpring for a watch, though a watch was far from being a new invention. Paper was made no earlier than the fourteenth century, and the invention of printing was a century later. Silk manufactures were long eſtabliſhed in Greece before ſilk-worms were introduced there. The manufacturers were provided with raw ſilk from Perſia: but that commerce being frequently interrupted by war, two monks, in the reign of Juſtinian, brought eggs of the ſilk-worm from Hindoſtan, and taught their countrymen the method of managing them. The art of reading made a very ſlow progreſs. To encourage that art in England, the capital puniſhment for murder was remitted, if the criminal could but read, which in law-language is termed *benefit of clergy*. One would imagine that the art muſt have made a very rapid progreſs when ſo greatly favoured: but there is a ſignal proof of the contrary; for ſo ſmall an edition of the Bible

as

as six hundred copies, translated into English in the reign of Henry VIII. was not wholly sold off in three years. The people of England must have been profoundly ignorant in Queen Elizabeth's time, when a forged clause added to the twentieth article of the English creed passed unnoticed till about forty years ago *. The Emperor Rodolphus, *anno* 1281, appointed all public acts to be written in the German language, instead of Latin as formerly. This was imitated in France, but not till the year 1539. In Scotland to this day charters, seisins, precepts of *Clare constat*, and some other land-titles, continue to be in Latin, or rather in a sort of jargon. Ignorance is the mother of devotion, to the church and to lawyers.

The

* In the act 13th Elizabeth, *anno* 1571, confirming the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, these articles are not engrossed, but referred to as comprised in a printed book, intitled, *Articles agreed to by the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London* 1562. The forged clause is, "The church "has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in "controversies of faith." That clause is not in the articles referred to; nor the slightest hint of any authority with respect to matters of faith. In the same year 1571, the articles were printed both in Latin and English, precisely as in the year 1562. But soon after came out spurious editions, in which the said clause was foisted into the twentieth article, and continues so to this day. A forgery so impudent would not pass at present; and its success shows great ignorance in the people of England at that period.

The diſcoveries of the Portugueſe in the weſt coaſt of Africa, is a remarkable inſtance of the ſlow progreſs of arts. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, they were totally ignorant of that coaſt beyond Cape Non, 28 deg. north latitude. In the 1410, the celebrated Prince Henry of Portugal fitted out a fleet for diſcoveries, which proceeded along the coaſt to Cape Bojadore, in 26 deg. but had not courage to double it. In 1418, Triſtan Vaz diſcovered the iſland Porto Santo; and the year after, the iſland Madeira was diſcovered. In 1439, a Portugueſe captain doubled Cape Bojadore; and the next year the Portugueſe reached Cape Blanco, lat. 20 deg. In 1446, Nuna Triſtan doubled Cape Verd, lat. 14° 40′. In 1448, Don Gonzallo Vallo took poſſeſſion of the Azores. In the 1449, the iſlands of Cape Verd were diſcovered for Don Henry. In the 1471, Pedro d'Eſcovar diſcovered the iſland St Thomas and Prince's iſland. In 1484, Diego Cam diſcovered the kingdom of Congo. In 1486, Bartholomew Diaz, employed by John II. of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which he called *Cabo Tormentoſo*, from the tempeſtuous weather he found in the paſſage.

More arts have been invented by accident than by inveſtigation. The art of porcelain is more intricate than that of glaſs. The Chineſe, however, have poſſeſſed the former many ages, without knowing

knowing any thing of the latter till they were taught by Europeans.

The exertion of national ſpirit upon any particular art, promotes activity to proſecute other arts. The Romans, by conſtant ſtudy, came to excel in the art of war, which led them to improve upon other arts. Having in the progreſs of ſociety acquired ſome degree of taſte and poliſh, a talent for writing broke forth. Nævius compoſed in verſe ſeven books of the Punic war, beſide comedies, replete with bitter raillery againſt the nobility *. Ennius wrote annals, and an epic poem †. Lucius Andronicus was the father of dramatic poetry in Rome ‡. Pacuvius wrote tragedies ||. Plautus and Terence wrote comedies. Lucilius compoſed ſatires, which Cicero eſteems to be ſlight, and void of erudition §. Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus, Piſo Frugi, Valerius Antias, and Cato, were rather annaliſts than hiſtorians, confining themſelves to naked facts, ranged in order of time. The genius of the Romans for the fine arts was much inflamed by Greek learning, when free intercourſe between the two nations was opened. Many of thoſe who made the greateſt figure in the Roman ſtate commenced authors, Cæſar, Cicero, &c.

* Titus Livius, lib. 7. c. 2.
† Quintilian, lib. 10. c. 17.
‡ Cicero De oratore, lib. 2. No. 72.
|| —— De oratore, lib. 2. No. 193.
§ —— De finibus, lib. 1. No. 7.

&c. Sylla compoſed memoirs of his own tranſactions, a work much eſteemed even in the days of Plutarch.

The progreſs of art ſeldom fails to be rapid, when a people happen to be rouſed out of a torpid ſtate by ſome fortunate change of circumſtances: proſperity contraſted with former abaſement, gives to the mind a ſpring, which is vigorouſly exerted in every new purſuit. The Athenians made no figure under the tyranny of Piſiſtratus; but upon regaining freedom and independence, they became heroes. Miletus, a Greek city of Ionia, being deſtroyed by the King of Perſia, and the inhabitants made ſlaves, the Athenians, deeply affected with the miſery of their brethren, boldly attacked that King in his own dominions, and burnt the city of Sardis. In leſs than ten years after, they gained a ſignal victory over him at Marathon; and under Themiſtocles, made head againſt a prodigious army, with which Xerxes threatened utter ruin to Greece. Such proſperity produced its uſual effect: arts flouriſhed with arms, and Athens became the chief theatre for ſciences as well as fine arts. The reign of Auguſtus Cæſar, which put an end to the rancour of civil war, and reſtored peace to Rome with the comforts of ſociety, proved an auſpicious æra for literature; and produced a cloud of Latin hiſtorians, poets, and philoſophers, to whom the moderns are indebted for their taſte and talents.

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One who makes a figure rouſes emulation in all: one catches fire from another, and the national ſpirit flouriſhes: claſſical works are compoſed, and uſeful diſcoveries made in every art and ſcience. This fairly accounts for the following obſervation of Velleius Paterculus *, that eminent men generally appear in the ſame period of time. "One "age," ſays he, "produced Æſchylus, Sophocles, "and Euripides, who advanced tragedy to a great "height. In another age the old comedy flou-"riſhed under Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ariſto-"phanes; and the new was invented by Menan-"der, and his cotemporaries Diphilus and Phile-"mon, whoſe compoſitions are ſo perfect that they "have left to poſterity no hope of rivalſhip. The "philoſophic ſages of the Socratic ſchool, appear-"ed all about the time of Plato and Ariſtotle. "And as to rhetoric, few excelled in that art be-"fore Iſocrates, and as few after the ſecond deſ-"cent of his ſcholars." The hiſtorian applies the ſame obſervation to the Romans, and extends it even to grammarians, painters, ſtatuaries, and ſculptors. With regard to Rome, it is true that the Roman government under Auguſtus was in effect deſpotic: but deſpotiſm, in that ſingle inſtance, made no obſtruction to literature, it having been the policy of that reign to hide power as much as poſſible. A ſimilar revolution happened in Tuſcany about three centuries ago. That country

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* Hiſtoria Romana, lib. 1. in fine.

was divided into many ſmall republics, which, by mutual hatred, uſual between nations in cloſe neighbourhood, became ferocious and bloody. Theſe republics being united under the Great Duke of Tuſcany, enjoyed the ſweats of peace in a mild government. That comfortable revolution, which made the deeper impreſſion by a retroſpect to recent calamities, rouſed the national ſpirit, and produced ardent application to arts and literature. The reſtoration of the royal family in England, which put an end to a cruel and envenomed civil war, promoted improvements of every kind: arts and induſtry made a rapid progreſs among the people, though left to themſelves by a weak and fluctuating adminiſtration. Had the nation, upon that favourable turn of fortune, been bleſſed with a ſucceſſion of able and virtuous princes, to what a height might not arts and ſciences have been carried! In Scotland, a favourable period for improvements was the reign of the firſt Robert, after ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke: but the domineering ſpirit of the feudal ſyſtem rendered abortive every attempt. The reſtoration of the royal family, mentioned above, animated the legiſlature of Scotland to promote manufactures of various kinds: but in vain; for the union of the two crowns had introduced deſpotiſm into Scotland, which ſunk the genius of the people, and rendered them heartleſs and indolent. Liberty, indeed, and many other advantages, were procured to them by the union

union of the two kingdoms; but theſe ſalutary effects were long ſuſpended by mutual enmity, ſuch as commonly ſubſiſts between neighbouring nations. Enmity wore away gradually, and the eyes of the Scots were opened to the advantages of their preſent condition: the national ſpirit was rouſed to emulate and to excel: talents were exerted, hitherto latent; and Scotland, at preſent, makes a figure in arts and ſciences, above what it ever made while an independent kingdom *.

Another cauſe of activity and animation, is the being engaged in ſome important action of doubtful event, a ſtruggle for liberty, the reſiſting a potent invader, or the like. Greece, divided into ſmall ſtates, frequently at war with each other, advanced literature and the fine arts to unrivalled perfection. The Corſicans, while engaged in a perilous war for defence of their liberties, exerted a vigorous national ſpirit: they founded an univerſity for arts and ſciences, a public library, and a

* In Scotland, an innocent bankrupt impriſoned for debt, obtains liberty by a proceſs termed *ceſſio bonorum*. From the year 1694 to the 1744, there were but twenty-four proceſſes of that kind, which ſhows how languidly trade was carried on while the people remained ignorant of their advantages by the union. From that time to the year 1771, there have been thrice that number every year, taking one year with another; an evident proof of the late rapid progreſs of commerce in Scotland. Every one is rouſed to venture his ſmall ſtock, though every one cannot be ſucceſsful.

public bank. After a long ſtupor during the dark ages of Chriſtianity, arts and literature revived among the turbulent ſtates of Italy. The Royal Society in London, and the Academy of Sciences in Paris, were both of them inſtituted after civil wars that had animated the people, and rouſed their activity.

An uſeful art is ſeldom loſt, becauſe it is in conſtant practice. And yet, though many uſeful arts were in perfection during the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar, it is amazing how ignorant and ſtupid men became, after the Roman empire was ſhattered by northern barbarians: they degenerated into ſavages. So ignorant were the Spaniſh Chriſtians during the eighth and ninth centuries, that Alphonſus the Great, King of Leon, was neceſſitated to employ Mahometan preceptors for educating his eldeſt ſon. Even Charlemagne could not ſign his name: nor was he ſingular in that reſpect, being kept in countenance by ſeveral neighbouring princes.

As the progreſs of arts and ſciences toward perfection is greatly promoted by emulation, nothing is more fatal to an art or ſcience than to remove that ſpur, as where ſome extraordinary genius appears who ſoars above rivalſhip. Mathematics ſeem to be declining in Europe: the great Newton, having ſurpaſſed all the ancients, has not left to the moderns even the fainteſt hope of equalling him; and what man will enter the liſts who deſpairs of victory?

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In early times, the inventors of uſeful arts were remembered with fervent gratitude. Their hiſtory became fabulous by the many incredible exploits attributed to them. Diodorus Siculus mentions the Egyptian tradition of Oſiris, that with a numerous army he traverſed every inhabited part of the globe, in order to teach men the culture of wheat and of the vine. Beſide the impracticability of ſupporting a numerous army where huſbandry is unknown, no army could enable Oſiris to introduce wheat or wine among ſtupid ſavages who live by hunting and fiſhing; which probably was the caſe, in that early period, of all the nations he viſited.

In a country thinly peopled, where even neceſſary arts want hands, it is common to ſee one perſon exerciſing more arts than one: in ſeveral parts of Scotland, the ſame man ſerves as a phyſician, ſurgeon, and apothecary. In a very populous country, even ſimple arts are ſplit into parts, and there is an artiſt for each part: in the populous towns of ancient Egypt, a phyſician was confined to a ſingle diſeaſe. In mechanic arts, that mode is excellent. As a hand confined to a ſingle operation becomes both expert and expeditious, a mechanic art is perfected by having its different operations diſtributed among the greateſt number of hands: many hands are employed in making a watch; and a ſtill greater number in manufacturing a web of woollen cloth. Various arts or operations car-

ried on by the ſame man, envigorate his mind, becauſe they exerciſe different faculties; and, as he cannot be equally expert in every art or operation, he is frequently reduced to ſupply want of ſkill by thought and invention. Conſtant application, on the contrary, to a ſingle operation, confines the mind to a ſingle object, and excludes all thought and invention: in ſuch a train of life, the operator becomes dull and ſtupid, like a beaſt of burden. The difference is viſible in the manners of the people: in a country where, from want of hands, ſeveral occupations muſt be carried on by the ſame perſon, the people are knowing and converſable: in a populous country where manufactures flouriſh, they are ignorant and unſociable. The ſame effect is viſible in countries where an art or manufacture is confined to a certain claſs of men. It is viſible in Hindoſtan, where the people are divided into *caſts*, which never mix even by by marriage, and where every man follows his father's trade. The Dutch lint-boors are a ſimilar inſtance: the ſame families carry on the trade from generation to generation, and are accordingly ignorant and brutiſh even beyond other Dutch peaſants. The inhabitants of Buckhaven, a ſeaport in the county of Fife, were originally a colony of foreigners, invited hither to teach our people the art of fiſhing. They continue fiſhers to this day, marry among themſelves, have little intercourſe

courſe with their neighbours, and are dull and ſtupid to a proverb *.

A gentleman of a moderate fortune paſſed his time while huſbandry was aſleep, like a Birmingham workman who hammers a button from morning to evening. A certain gentleman, for example, who lived on his eſtate, iſſued forth to walk as the clock ſtruck eleven. Every day he trod the ſame path, leading to an eminence which opened to a view of the ſea. A rock on the ſummit was his ſeat, where, after reſting an hour, he returned home at leiſure. It is not a little ſingular, that this exerciſe was repeated day after day for forty-three years, without interruption for the laſt twenty years of the gentleman's life. And though he has been long dead, the impreſſion of his heels in the ſod remains viſible to this day. Men by inaction degenerate into oyſters.

SECT. II.

Progreſs of Taſte and of the Fine Arts.

THE ſenſe by which we perceive right and wrong in actions, is termed the *moral ſenſe*: the ſenſe by which we perceive beauty and deformity in objects, is termed *taſte*. Perfection in the moral

* Population has one advantage not commonly thought of, which is, that it baniſhes ghoſts and apparitions. Such imaginary beings are never ſeen but by ſolitary perſons in ſolitary places. In great towns they are unknown: you never hear of ſuch a thing in Holland, which in effect is one great town.

ral ſenſe conſiſts in perceiving the minuteſt differences between right and wrong: perfection in taſte conſiſts in perceiving the minuteſt differences between beauty and deformity; and ſuch perfection is termed *delicacy of taſte* *.

The moral ſenſe is born with us; and ſo is taſte: yet both of them require much cultivation. Among ſavages, the moral ſenſe is faint and obſcure; and taſte ſtill more ſo †. Even in the moſt enlightened ages, it requires in a judge both education and experience to perceive accurately the various modifications of right and wrong: and to acquire delicacy of taſte, a man muſt grow old in examining beauties and deformities. In Rome, abounding with productions of the fine arts, an illiterate ſhopkeeper is a more correct judge of ſtatues, of pictures, and of buildings, than the beſt educated citizen of London ‡. Thus taſte goes hand in hand with the moral ſenſe in their progreſs toward maturity; and they ripen equally by the ſame ſort of culture. Want, a barren ſoil, cramps the growth of both: ſenſuality, a ſoil too fat, corrupts both: the middle ſtate, equally diſtant from diſpiriting poverty and luxurious ſenſuality, is the ſoil in which both of them flouriſh.

As

* Some Iroquois, after ſeeing all the beauties of Paris, admired nothing but the ſtreet De la Houchette, where they found a conſtant ſupply of eatables.

† Elements of Criticiſm, vol. i. p. 112. edit. 5.

‡ Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 25.

As the fine arts are intimately connected with taste, it is impracticable, in tracing their progress, to separate them by accurate limits. I join therefore the progress of the fine arts to that of taste, where the former depends entirely on the latter; and I handle separately the progress of the fine arts, where that progress is influenced by other circumstances beside taste.

During the infancy of taste, imagination is suffered to roam, as in sleep, without control. Wonder is the passion of savages and of rustics; to raise which, nothing is necessary but to invent giants and magicians, fairy-land and inchantment. The earliest exploits recorded of warlike nations, are giants mowing down whole armies, and little men overcoming giants; witness Joannes Magnus, Torfæus, and other Scandinavian writers. Hence the absurd romances that delighted the world for ages, which are now sunk into contempt every where. The more supernatural the facts related are, the more is wonder raised; and in proportion to the degree of wonder, is the tendency to belief among the vulgar *. Madame de la Fayette led the way to novels in the present mode. She was the first who introduced sentiments instead of wonderful adventures, and amiable men instead of bloody heroes. In substituting distresses to prodigies, she made a discovery, that persons of taste and

* Elements of Criticism, vol. i. p. 163. edit. 5.

and feeling are more attached by compaſſion than by wonder.

By the improvement of our rational faculties, truth and nature came to bear ſway: incredible fictions were baniſhed: a remaining bias, however, for wonder paved the way to bombaſt language, turgid ſimiles, and forced metaphors. The Song of Solomon, and many other Aſiatic compoſitions, afford examples without end of ſuch figures. Theſe are commonly attributed to force of imagination in a warm climate; but a more extenſive view will ſhow this to be a miſtake. In every climate, hot and cold, the figurative ſtyle is carried to extravagance, during a certain period in the progreſs of writing; a ſtyle that is reliſhed by all at firſt, and continues to delight many, till it yield to a taſte poliſhed by long experience *. Even in the bitter-cold country of Iceland, we are at no loſs for examples. A rainbow is termed *Bridge of the gods:* gold, *Tears of Frya:* the earth is termed *Daughter of Night*, the *veſſel that floats upon Ages;* and herbs and plants are her *hair*, or her *fleece*. Ice is termed *the great bridge:* a ſhip, *horſe of the floods*. Many authors fooliſhly conjecture, that the Hurons and ſome other neighbouring nations, are of Aſiatic extraction; becauſe, like the Aſiatics, their diſcourſe is highly figurative.

The

* Elements of Criticiſm, vol. ii. p. 184. 284. edit. 5.

The national progreſs of morality is ſlow: the national progreſs of taſte is ſlower. In proportion as a nation poliſhes and improves in the arts of peace, taſte ripens. The Chineſe had long enjoyed a regular ſyſtem of government, while the Europeans were comparatively in a chaos; and accordingly literary compoſitions in China were brought to perfection more early than in Europe. In their poetry they indulge no incredible fables, like thoſe of Arioſto or the Arabian Tales; but commonly ſelect ſuch as afford a good moral. Their novels, like thoſe of the moſt approved kind among us, treat of misfortunes unforeſeen, unexpected good luck, and perſons finding out their real parents. The Orphan of China, compoſed in the fourteenth century, ſurpaſſes far any European play of that early period. But good writing has made a more rapid progreſs with us; not from ſuperiority of talents, but from the great labour the Chineſe muſt undergo, in learning to read and write their own language. The Chineſe tragedy is indeed languid, and not ſufficiently intereſting, which M. Voltaire aſcribes to want of genius. With better reaſon he might have aſcribed it to the nature of their government, ſo well contrived for preſerving peace and order, as to afford few examples of ſurpriſing events, and little opportunity for exerting manly talents.

A nation cannot acquire a taſte for ridicule till it emerges out of the ſavage ſtate. Ridicule, however,

ever, is too rough for refined manners: Cicero diſcovers in Plautus a happy talent for ridicule, and peculiar delicacy of wit; but Horace, who figured in the court of Auguſtus, eminent for delicacy of taſte, declares againſt the low roughneſs of that author's raillery *. The ſame Cicero, in a letter to Papirius Pœtus, complains that by the influx of foreigners the true Roman humour was loſt. It was not the influx of foreigners, but the gradual progreſs of manners from the rough to the poliſhed. The high burleſque ſtyle prevails commonly in the period between barbarity and politeneſs, in which a taſte ſomewhat improved diſcovers the ridicule of former manners. Rabelais in France, and Butler in England, are illuſtrious examples. Dr Swift is our lateſt burleſque writer, and probably is the laſt.

Emulation among a multitude of ſmall ſtates in Greece, was inflamed by their public games: by that means taſte ripened, and the fine arts were promoted. Taſte refines gradually, and is advanced towards perfection by a diligent ſtudy of beautiful productions. Rome was indebted to Greece for that delicacy of taſte which figured during the reign of Auguſtus, eſpecially in literary compoſitions. But taſte could not long flouriſh in a deſpotic government: ſo low had the Roman taſte fallen in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, that nothing would

* Elements of Criticiſm, chap. ii. part 2.

would pleaſe him but to ſuppreſs Homer, and in his place to inſtall a ſilly Greek poet, named *Antimachus*.

The northern barbarians who deſolated the Roman Empire, and revived in ſome meaſure the ſavage ſtate, occaſioned a woful decay of taſte. Pope Gregory the Great, ſtruck with the beauty of ſome Saxon youths expoſed to ſale in Rome, aſked to what country they belonged. Being told they were Angles, he ſaid that they ought more properly to be denominated angels; and that it was a pity ſo beautiful a countenance ſhould cover a mind devoid of grace. Hearing that the name of their province was *Deïri*, a diviſion of Northumberland, "Deïri!" replied he, "excellent: they are called "to the mercy of God from his anger [*de ira*]." Being alſo told, that Alla was the king of that province, "Alleluia," cried he, "we muſt endeavour "that the praiſes of God be ſung in their coun-"try." Puns and conundrums paſſed in ignorant times for ſterling wit. Pope Gregory VII. *anno* 1080, preſented to the Emperor Rodolph a crown of gold, with the following inſcription, *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.* Miſerably low muſt taſte have been in that period, when a childiſh play of words was reliſhed as a proper decoration for a ſerious ſolemnity.

Pope Innocent III. *anno* 1207, made a preſent of jewels to John King of England, accompanied with the following letter, praiſed by Père Orleans

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as full of ſpirit and beauty. "Conſider this pre-
"ſent with reſpect to form, number, matter, and
"colour. The circular figure of the ring denotes
"eternity, which has neither beginning nor end.
"And by that figure your mind will be elevated
"from things terreſtrial to things celeſtial. The
"number of four, making a ſquare, denotes the
"firmneſs of a heart, proof againſt both adverſity
"and proſperity, eſpecially when ſupported by
"the four cardinal virtues, juſtice, ſtrength, pru-
"dence, and temperance. By the gold, which is
"the metal of the ring, is denoted wiſdom, which
"excels among the gifts of Heaven, as gold does
"among metals. Thus it is ſaid of the Meſſiah,
"that the ſpirit of wiſdom ſhall reſt upon him;
"nor is there any thing more neceſſary to a king,
"which made Solomon requeſt it from God pre-
"ferably to all other goods. As to the colour of
"the ſtones, the green of the emerald denotes
"faith; the purity of the ſapphire, hope; the red
"of the granite, charity; the clearneſs of the to-
"paz, good works. You have therefore in the
"emerald what will increaſe your faith; in the
"ſapphire, what will encourage you to hope; in
"the granite, what will prompt you to love; in
"the topaz, what will excite you to act; till, ha-
"ving mounted by degrees to the perfection of all
"the virtues, you come at laſt to ſee the God of
"gods in the celeſtial Sion."

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The famous golden bull of Germany, digeſted *anno* 1356, by Bartolus, a celebrated lawyer, and intended for a maſter-piece of compoſition, is replete with wild conceptions, without the leaſt regard to truth, propriety, or connection. It begins with an apoſtrophé to Pride, to Satan, to Choler, and to Luxury: it aſſerts, that there muſt be ſeven electors, for oppoſing the ſeven mortal ſins: the fall of the angels, terreſtrial paradiſe, Pompey and Cæſar, are introduced; and it is ſaid, that Germany is founded on the Trinity, and on the three theological virtues. What can be more puerile! A ſermon preached by the Biſhop of Bitonto, at the opening of the council of Trent, excels in that mode of compoſition. He proves that a council is neceſſary; becauſe ſeveral councils have extirpated hereſy, and depoſed kings and emperors; becauſe the poets aſſemble councils of the gods; becauſe Moſes writes, that at the creation of man, and at confounding the language of the giants, God acted in the manner of a council; becauſe religion has three heads, doctrine, ſacraments, and charity, and that theſe three are termed *a council.* He exhorts the members of the council to ſtrict unity, like the heroes in the Trojan horſe. He aſſerts, that the gates of paradiſe and of the council are the ſame; that the holy fathers ſhould ſprinkle their dry hearts with the living water that flowed from it; and that otherwiſe the Holy Ghoſt would open

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their mouths like thoſe of Balaam and Caiaphas *. James I. of Britain dedicates his Declaration againſt Vorſtius to our Saviour, in the following words: "To the honour of our Lord and Saviour "Jeſus Chriſt, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, the only Theanthropos, mediator, and reconciler of mankind; in ſign of thankfulneſs, his "moſt humble and obliged ſervant, James, by the "grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, "and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, doth dedicate and conſecrate this his Declaration." Funeral orations were ſome time ago in faſhion. Regnard, who was in Stockholm about the year 1680, heard a funeral oration at the burial of a ſervant-maid. The prieſt, after mentioning her parents and the place of her birth, praiſed her as an excellent cook, and enlarged upon every ragout that ſhe had made in perfection. She had but one fault, he ſaid, which was the ſalting her diſhes too much; but that ſhe ſhowed thereby her prudence, of which ſalt is the ſymbol; a ſtroke of wit that probably was admired by the audience. Funeral orations are out of faſhion: the futility of a trite panegyric purchaſed with money, and indecent flattery in circumſtances that require ſincerity and truth, could not long ſtand againſt improved taſte. The yearly feaſt of the aſs that carried the mother of God into Egypt, was a moſt ridiculous farce, highly

* Father Paul's Hiſtory of Trent, lib. i.

ly relifhed in the dark ages of Chriftianity. See the defcription of that feaft in Voltaire's General Hiftory *.

The public amufements of our forefathers, fhow the groffnefs of their tafte after they were reduced to barbarifm by the Goths and Vandals. The plays termed *Myfteries*, becaufe they were borrowed from the Scriptures, indicate grofs manners, as well as infantine tafte; and yet in France, not farther back than three or four centuries, thefe Myfteries were fuch favourites as conftantly to make a part at every public feftival. In a Spanifh play or myftery, Jefus Chrift and the devil, ridiculoufly dreffed, enter into a difpute about fome point of controverfy, are enflamed, proceed to blows, and finifh the entertainment with a faraband. The reformation of religion, which roufed a fpirit of inquiry, banifhed that amufement, not only as low but as indecent. A fort of plays fucceeded, termed *Moralities*, lefs indecent indeed, but little preferable in point of compofition. Thefe Moralities have alfo been long banifhed, except in Spain, where they ftill continue in vogue. The devil is commonly the hero: nor do the Spaniards make any difficulty, even in their more regular plays, to introduce fupernatural and allegorical beings upon the fame ftage with men and women. The Cardinal Colonna carried into Spain a beautiful buft of

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* Chap. 78.

the Emperor Caligula. In the war about the ſucceſſion of Spain, after the death of its king Charles II. Lord Gallway, upon a painful ſearch, found that buſt ſerving as a weight to a church-clock.

In the days of our unpoliſhed forefathers, who were governed by pride as well as by hatred, princes and men of rank entertained a changeling, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *fool;* who being the butt of their ſilly jokes, flattered their ſelf-conceit. Such amuſement, no leſs groſs than inhuman, could not ſhow its face even in the dawn of taſte: it was rendered leſs inſipid and leſs inhuman, by entertaining one of real wit, who, under diſguiſe of a fool, was indulged in the moſt ſatirical truths. Upon a further purification of taſte, it was diſcovered, that to draw amuſement from folly, real or pretended, is below the dignity of human nature. More refined amuſements were invented, ſuch as balls, public ſpectacles, gaming, and ſociety with women. Paraſites, deſcribed by Plautus and Terence, were of ſuch a rank as to be permitted to dine with gentlemen; and yet were ſo deſpicable, as to be the butt of every man's joke. They were placed at the lower end of the table; and the gueſts diverted themſelves with daubing their faces, and even kicking and cuffing them; all which was patiently borne for the ſake of a plentiful meal. They reſembled the fools and clowns of later times, being equally intended to be laughed at: but the paraſite profeſſion ſhows groſſer manners;

manners; it being ſhockingly indelicate in a company of gentlemen to abuſe one of their own number, however contemptible in point of character.

Pride, which introduced fools, brought dwarfs alſo into faſhion. In Italy, that taſte was carried to extravagance. "Being at Rome in the year "1566," ſays a French writer, "I was invited by "Cardinal Vitelli to a feaſt, where we were ſerved "by no fewer than thirty-four dwarfs, moſt of "them horribly diſtorted." Was not the taſte of that Cardinal horribly diſtorted? The ſame author adds, that Francis I. and Henry II. Kings of France, had many dwarfs: one named *Great John*, was the leaſt ever had been ſeen, except a dwarf at Milan, who was carried about in a cage.

In the eighth and ninth centuries, no ſort of commerce was carried on in Europe but in markets and fairs. Artificers and manufacturers were diſperſed through the country, and ſo were monaſteries; the towns being inhabited by none but clergymen, and thoſe who immediately depended on them. The nobility lived on their eſtates, unleſs when they followed the court. The low people were not at liberty to deſert the place of their birth: the *villain* was annexed to the eſtate, and the *ſlave* to the perſon of his lord. Slavery foſtered rough manners; and there could be no improvement in manners, nor in taſte, where there was no ſociety. Of all the polite nations in Europe, the Engliſh were the lateſt of taking to a

town-life; and their progreſs in taſte and manners has been proportionally ſlow.

Our celebrated poet Ben Johnſon lived at a time when turgid conceptions and bombaſt language were highly reliſhed; and his compoſitions are in the perfection of that taſte, witneſs the quotations from him in Elements of Criticiſm.*. He was but too faithfully imitated by Beaumont and Fletcher, and other writers of that age. We owe to Dryden the dawn of a better taſte. For though the mode of writing in his time led him to the bombaſt, yet a juſt imitation of nature frequently breaks forth, eſpecially in his later compoſitions. And, as nature will always at laſt prevail, the copies of nature given by that eminent writer were highly reliſhed, produced many happy imitations, and in time brought about a total revolution of taſte, which kept pace with that of government, both equally happy for this nation. Here is a fair deduction of the progreſs of taſte in Britain. But, according to that progreſs, what ſhall be ſaid of the immortal Shakeſpeare, in whoſe works is diſplayed the perfection of taſte? Was not his appearance at leaſt a century too early? Such events happen ſometimes contrary to the ordinary progreſs. This was the caſe of Roger Bacon, as well as of Shakeſpeare: they were blazing ſtars that gave but a temporary luſtre, and left the world as void of light

* Vol. i. p. 244. edit. 5.

light as before. Ben Johnſon, accordingly, and even Beaumont and Fletcher, were greater national favourites than Shakeſpeare; and, in the ſame manner, the age before, Lucan was ranked above Virgil by every critic. By the ſame bad taſte, the true ſublime of Milton was little reliſhed for more than half a century after Paradiſe Loſt was publiſhed. Ill-fated Shakeſpeare! who appeared in an age unworthy of him. That divine writer, who, merely by force of genius, ſo far ſurpaſſed his cotemparies, how far would he have ſurpaſſed even himſelf, had he been animated with the praiſes ſo juſtly beſtowed on him in later times? We have Dryden's authority, that taſte in his time was conſiderably refined:

"They who have beſt ſucceeded on the ſtage,
"Have ſtill conformed their genius to their age.
"Thus Johnſon did mechanic humour ſhow,
"When men were dull, and converſation low.
"Then comedy was faultleſs, but 'twas coarſe:
"Cobb's Tankard was a jeſt, and Otter's Horſe.
"Fame then was cheap, and the firſt comer ſped:
"And they have kept it ſince by being dead.
"But were they now to write, when critics weigh
"Each line and ev'ry word throughout a play,
"None of them, no not Johnſon in his height,
"Could paſs without allowing grains for weight.
"If love and honour now are higher rais'd,
"It's not the poet, but the age is prais'd:
"Wit's now arriv'd to a more high degree,
"Our native language more refin'd and free.
"Our ladies and our men now ſpeak more wit
"In converſation, than thoſe poets writ."

The high opinion Dryden had of himſelf, and of his age, breaks out in every line. Johnſon probably had the ſame opinion of himſelf, and of his age: the preſent age is not exempted from that bias; nor will the next age be, though probably maturity in taſte will be ſtill later. We humble ourſelves before the ancients, who are far removed from us; but not to ſoar above our immediate predeceſſors, would be a ſad mortification. Many ſcenes in Dryden's plays, if not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horſe, are more out of place. In the *Wild Gallant*, the hero is a wretch conſtantly employed, not only in cheating his creditors, but in cheating his miſtreſs, a lady of high rank and fortune. And how abſurd is the ſcene, where he convinces the father of his miſtreſs, that the devil had got him with child! The character of Sir Martin Marall is below contempt. The ſcenes in the ſame play, of a bawd inſtructing one of her novices how to behave to her gallants, and of the novice practiſing her leſſons, are perhaps not lower than Cobb's Tankard or Otter's Horſe, but ſurely they are leſs innocent.

It is common to ſee people, fond of a new faſhion, vainly imagining that taſte is greatly improved. Diſguiſed diſhes are a ſort of baſtard wit, like turrets jutting out at the top of a building. Such diſhes were lately in high faſhion, without having even the ſlender merit of being a new faſhion. They prevailed in the days of Charles II.

as

as we learn from one of Dryden's plays. "Ay, it "look'd like variety, till we came to taſte it; there "were twenty ſeveral diſhes to the eye, but in the "palate nothing but ſpices. I had a mind to eat "of a pheaſant; and, ſo ſoon as I got it into my "mouth, I found I was chewing a limb of cinna-"mon; then I went to cut a piece of kid, and no "ſooner it had touched my lips, but it turn'd to "red pepper: at laſt I began to think myſelf ano-"ther kind of Midas, that every thing I had "touched ſhould be turned to ſpice."

Portugal was riſing in power and ſplendor when Camoens wrote the Luſiad; and, with reſpect to the muſic of verſe, it has merit. The author, however, is far from ſhining in point of taſte. He makes a ſtrange jumble of Heathen and Chriſtian Deities. "Gama," obſerves Voltaire, "in a ſtorm "addreſſes his prayers to Chriſt, but it is Venus "who comes to his relief." Voltaire's obſervation is but too well founded. In the firſt book, Jove ſummons a council of the gods, which is deſcribed at great length, for no earthly purpoſe but to ſhow that he favoured the Portugueſe. Bacchus, on the other hand, declares againſt them upon the following account, that he himſelf had gained immortal glory, as conqueror of the Indies; which would be eclipſed if the Portugueſe ſhould alſo conquer them. A Mooriſh commander having received Gama with ſmiles, but with hatred in his heart, the poet brings down Bacchus from heaven to

confirm

confirm the Moor in his wicked purpoſes; which would have been perpetrated, had not Venus interpoſed in Gama's behalf. In the ſecond canto, Bacchus feigns himſelf to be a Chriſtian, in order to deceive the Portugueſe; but Venus implores her father Jupiter to protect them. And yet, after all, I am loth to condemn an early writer for introducing Heathen Deities as actors in a real hiſtory, when, in the age of Lewis XIV. celebrated for refinement of taſte, we find French writers, Boileau in particular, guilty ſometimes of the ſame abſurdity *.

At the meeting *anno* 1520 near Calais between Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, it is obſerved by ſeveral French writers, that the French nobility diſplayed more magnificence, the Engliſh more taſte. If ſo, the alteration is great ſince that time: France at preſent gives the law to the reſt of Europe in every matter of taſte, gardening alone excepted. At the ſame time, though taſte in France is more correct than in any other country, it will bear ſtill ſome purification. The ſcene of a clyſter-pipe in Moliere is too low even for a farce; and yet to this day it is acted, with a few ſoftenings, before the moſt polite audience in Europe †.

In

* Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 22.

† No nation equals the French in dreſs, houſehold furniture, watches, ſnuff-boxes, and in toys of every kind. The Italians have always excelled in architecture and painting, the

In Elements of Criticiſm * ſeveral cauſes are mentioned that may retard taſte in its progreſs toward maturity, and that may give it a retrogade motion when it is in maturity. There are many biaſſes, both natural and acquired, that tend to miſlead perſons even of the beſt taſte. Of the latter, inſtances are without number. I ſelect one or two, to ſhow what influence even the ſlighteſt circumſtances have on taſte. The only tree beautiful at all ſeaſons is the holly: in winter, its deep and ſhining green entitles it to be the queen of the grove: in ſummer, this colour completes the harmonious mixture of ſhades, ſo pleaſing in that ſeaſon! Mrs D—— is lively and ſociable. She is eminent above moſt of her ſex for a correct taſte, diſplayed not only within doors but in the garden and in the field. Having become miſtreſs of a great houſe by matrimony, the moſt honourable of all titles, a group of tall hollies, which had long obſcured one of the capital rooms, ſoon attracted her eye. She took an averſion to a holly, and was not at eaſe till the group was extirpated. Such a bias is perfectly harmleſs. What follows is not ſo. The

the Engliſh in gardening. How are ſuch national differences to be explained? A nation, like an individual, may be diſpoſed to grand objects, which ſwell the mind. A nation, like an individual, may reliſh things neat, pretty, and elegant. And if a taſte of any kind happen once to prevail among men of figure, it ſoon turns general. The verdure of the fields in England invites a poliſhing hand.

* Chap. 25.

The Oxonians diſliked the great Newton, becauſe he was educated at Cambridge; and they favoured every book writ againſt him. That bias, I hope, has not come down to the preſent time.

Refinement of taſte in a nation, is always accompanied with refinement of manners: people accuſtomed to behold order and elegance in public buildings and public gardens, acquire urbanity in private. But it is irkſome to trudge long in a beaten track, familiar to all the world; and therefore, leaving what is ſaid above, like a ſtatue curtailed of legs and arms, I haſten to the hiſtory of the fine arts.

Uſeful arts paved the way to fine arts. Men upon whom the former had beſtowed every convenience, turned their thoughts to the latter. Beauty was ſtudied in objects of ſight; and men of taſte attached themſelves to the fine arts, which multiplied their enjoyments and improved their benevolence. Sculpture and painting made an early figure in Greece; which afforded plenty of beautiful originals to be copied in theſe imitative arts. Statuary, a more ſimple imitation than painting, was ſooner brought to perfection: the ſtatue of Jupiter by Phidias, and of Juno by Polycletes, though the admiration of all the world, were executed long before the art of light and ſhade was known. Apollodorus, and Zeuxis his diſciple, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth Olympiad, were the firſt who figured in that art. Another cauſe concurred to

advance

advance ſtatuary before painting in Greece, namely, a great demand for ſtatues of their gods. Architecture, as a fine art, made a ſlower progreſs. Proportions, upon which its elegance chiefly depends, cannot be accurately aſcertained but by an infinity of trials in great buildings: a model cannot be relied on; for a large and a ſmall building, even of the ſame form, require different proportions. Gardening made a ſtill ſlower progreſs than architecture: the palace of Alcinoous, in the ſeventh book of the Odyſſey, is grand, and highly ornamented; but his garden is no better than what we term a kitchen-garden. Gardening has made a great progreſs in England. In France, nature is ſacrificed to conceit. The gardens of Verſailles deviate from nature no leſs than the hanging gardens at Babylon. In Scotland, a taſte is happily commenced for neat houſes and ornamented fields; and the circumſtances of the people make it probable, that taſte there will improve gradually till it arrive at perfection. Few gentlemen in Scotland can afford the expence of London; and ſuppoſing them to paſs the winter in a provincial town, they return to the occupations of the country with redoubled ardor. As they are ſafe from the corruption of opulence, nature will be their guide in every plan; and the very face of their country will oblige them to follow nature; being diverſified with hills and plains, rocks and rivers, that require nothing but poliſhing. It is no unpleaſing

proſpect,

prospect, that Scotland may in a century, or sooner, compare with England; not, indeed, in magnificence of country-seats, but in sweetness and variety of concordant parts.

The ancient churches in this island cannot be our own invention, being unfit for a cold climate. The vast space they occupy, quantity of stone, and gloominess by excluding the sun, afford a refreshing coolness, and fit them for a hot climate. It is highly probable that they have been copied from the mosques in the south of Spain, erected there by the Saracens. Spain, when possessed by that people, was the centre of arts and sciences, and led the fashion in every thing beautiful and magnificent.

From the fine arts mentioned, we proceed to literature. It is agreed among all antiquaries, that the first writings were in verse, and that prose was of a much later date. The first Greek who wrote in prose, was Pherecides Syrus: the first Roman, was Appius Cæcus, who composed a declamation against Pyrrhus. The four books of Chatah Bhade, the sacred book of Hindostan, are composed in verse stanzas; and the Arabian compositions in prose followed long after those in verse. To account for that singular fact, many learned pens have been employed; but without success. By some it has been urged, that as memory is the only record of events where writing is unknown, history originally was composed in verse for the sake of memory.

ry. This is not ſatisfactory. To undertake the painful taſk of compoſing in verſe for the ſake of memory, would require more foreſight than ever was exerted by a barbarian; not to mention that other means were uſed for preſerving the memory of remarkable events, a heap of ſtones, a pillar, or other object that catches the eye. The account given by Longinus is more ingenious. In a fragment of his treatiſe on verſe, the only part that remains, he obſerves, "that meaſure or verſe belongs "to poetry, becauſe poetry repreſents the various "paſſions with their language; for which reaſon "the ancients, in their ordinary diſcourſe, deliver-"ed their thoughts in verſe rather than in proſe." Longinus thought, that anciently men were more expoſed to accidents and dangers, than when they were protected by good government and by fortified cities. But he ſeems not to have conſidered, that fear and grief, inſpired by dangers and misfortunes, are better ſuited to humble proſe than to elevated verſe. I add, that however natural poetical diction may be when one is animated with any vivid paſſion, it is not ſuppoſable that the ancients never wrote nor ſpoke but when excited by paſſion. Their hiſtory, their laws, their covenants, were certainly not compoſed in that tone of mind.

An important article in the progreſs of the fine arts, which writers have not ſufficiently attended to, will, if I miſtake not, explain this myſtery. The

The article is the profeſſion of a bard, which ſprung up in early times before writing was known, and died away gradually as writing turned more and more common. The curioſity of men is great with reſpect to the tranſactions of their forefathers; and, when ſuch tranſactions are deſcribed in verſe, accompanied with muſic, the performance is enchanting. An ear, a voice, ſkill in inſtrumental muſic, and, above all, a poetical genius, are requiſite to excel in that complicated art. As ſuch talents are rare, the few that poſſeſſed them were highly eſteemed; and hence the profeſſion of a bard, which, beſide natural talents, required more culture and exerciſe than any other known art. Bards were capital perſons at every feſtival and at every ſolemnity. Their ſongs, which, by recording the atchievements of kings and heroes, animated every hearer, muſt have been the entertainment of every warlike nation. We have Heſiod's authority, that in his time bards were as common as potters or joiners, and as liable to envy. Demodocus is mentioned by Homer as a celebrated bard *; and Phemius, another bard, is introduced by him deprecating the wrath of Ulyſſes, in the following words:

"O king! to mercy be thy ſoul inclined,
"And ſpare the poet's ever gentle kind.
"A deed like this thy future fame would wrong,
"For dear to gods and men is ſacred ſong.

"Self-

* Odyſſey, b. viii.

" Self-taught I ſing: by heav'n, and heav'n alone,
" The genuine ſeeds of poeſy are ſown;
" And (what the gods beſtow) the lofty lay,
" To gods alone, and godlike worth, we pay.
" Save then the poet, and thyſelf reward;
" 'Tis thine to merit, mine is to record."

Cicero reports, that at Roman feſtivals anciently, the virtues and exploits of their great men were ſung *. The ſame cuſtom prevailed in Peru and Mexico, as we learn from Garcilaſſo and other authors. Strabo † gives a very particular account of the Gallic bards. The following quotation is from Ammianus Marcellinus ‡: " Bardi quidem fortia " virorum illuſtrium facta, heroicis compoſita ver- " ſibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis, cantitârunt." We have for our authority Father Gobien, that even the inhabitants of the Marian iſlands have bards, who are greatly admired, becauſe in their ſongs are celebrated the feats of their anceſtors. There are traces of the ſame kind among the Apalachites in North America §. And we ſhall ſee afterward,

* Tuſculan Queſtions, lib. iv. N° 3. & 4.

† Lib. iv. ‡ Lib. xv. cap. 9.

§ The firſt ſeal that a young Greenlander catches, is made a feaſt for the family and neighbours. The young champion, during the repaſt, deſcants upon his addreſs in catching the animal: the gueſts admire his dexterity, and extol the flavour of the meat. Their only muſic is a ſort of drum, which accompanies a ſong in praiſe of ſeal-catching; in praiſe of their anceſtors;

afterward *, that in no other part of the world were bards more honoured than in Britain and Scandinavia.

Bards were the only hiſtorians before writing was introduced. Tacitus † ſays, that the ſongs of the German bards were their only annals. And Joannes Magnus, Archbiſhop of Upſal, acknowledges, that, in compiling his hiſtory of the ancient Goths, he had no other records but the ſongs of the bards. As theſe ſongs made an illuſtrious figure at every feſtival, they were conveyed in every family by parents to their children; and in that manner were kept alive before writing was known.

The invention of writing made a change in the bard-profeſſion. It is now an agreed point, that no

anceſtors; or in welcoming the ſun's return to them. Here are the rudiments of the bard-profeſſion. The ſong is made for a chorus, as many of our ancient ſongs are. Take the following example:

"The welcome ſun returns again,
"Amna ajah, ajah, ah hu!
"And brings us weather fine and fair,
"Amna ajah, ajah, ah-hu!"

The bard ſings the firſt and third lines, accompanying it with his drum, and with a ſort of dance. The other lines, termed the burden of the ſong, are ſung by the gueſts.

* Sketch vi. Progreſs of Manners.

† De Moribus Germanorum, cap. 2.

no poetry is fit to be accompanied with muſic, but what is ſimple: a complicated thought or deſcription requires the utmoſt attention, and leaves none for the muſic; or, if it divide the attention, it makes but a faint impreſſion *. The ſimple operas of Quinault bear away the palm from every thing of the kind compoſed by Boileau or Racine. But when a language, in its progreſs to maturity, is enriched with a variety of phraſes fit to expreſs the moſt elevated thoughts, men of genius aſpire to the higher ſtrains of poetry, leaving muſic and ſong to the bards: which diſtinguiſhes the profeſſion of a poet from that of a bard. Homer, in a lax ſenſe, may be termed a bard; for in that character he ſtrolled from feaſt to feaſt. But he was not a bard in the original ſenſe: he indeed recited his poems to crowded audiences; but his poems are too complex for muſic, and he probably did not ſing them, nor accompany them with the lyre. The Trovadores of Provence were bards in the original ſenſe; and made a capital figure in days of ignorance, when few could read, and fewer write. In later times the ſongs of the bards were taken down in writing, which gave every one acceſs to them without a bard; and the profeſſion ſunk by degrees into oblivion. Among the Highlanders of Scotland, reading and writing in their own tongue is not common even at preſent; and that circumſtance ſupported long the bard-profeſ-

 ſion

* See Elements of Criticiſm, vol. ii. Appendix, article 33.

ſion among them, after being forgot among neighbouring nations. Oſſian was the moſt celebrated bard in Caledonia, as Homer was in Greece *.

From the foregoing hiſtorical deduction, the reader will diſcover without my aſſiſtance why the firſt writings were in verſe. The ſongs of the bards, being univerſal favourites, were certainly the firſt compoſitions that writing was employed upon: they would be carefully collected by the moſt ſkilful writers, in order to preſerve them in perpetual remembrance. The following part of the progreſs is equally obvious. People acquainted with no written compoſitions but what were in verſe, compoſed in verſe their laws, their religious ceremonies, and every memorable tranſaction. But when ſubjects of writing multiplied, and became more and more involved, when people began to reaſon, to teach, and to harangue, they were obliged to deſcend to humble proſe: for to confine a writer or ſpeaker to verſe in handling ſubjects of that nature, would be a burden unſupportable.

The proſe compoſitions of early hiſtorians are all of them dramatic. A writer deſtitute of art is naturally

* The multitude are ſtruck with what is new and ſplendid, but ſeldom continue long in a wrong taſte. Voltaire holds it to be a ſtrong teſtimony for the Gieruſaleme Liberata, that even the gondoliers in Venice have it moſtly by heart; and that one no ſooner pronounces a ſtanza than another carries it on. Oſſian has the ſame teſtimony in his favour: there are not many Highlanders even of the loweſt rank, but can repeat long paſſages out of his works.

turally prompted to relate facts as he saw them performed: he introduces his personages as speaking and conferring; and relates only what was acted and not spoken *. The historical books of the Old Testament are composed in that mode; and so addicted to the dramatic are the authors of these books, that they frequently introduce God himself into the dialogue. At the same time, the simplicity of that mode is happily suited to the poverty of every language in its early periods. The dramatic mode has a delicious effect in expressing sentiments, and every thing that is simple and tender †. Take the following instance of a low incident becoming by that means not a little interesting. Naomi having lost her husband and her two sons in foreign parts, and purposing to return to the land of her forefathers, said to her two daughters-in-law, "Go, return each to her mother's house: the LORD deal kindly with you, as ye have dealt with the dead, and with me. The LORD grant you that you may find rest, each of you in the house of her husband. Then she kissed them: and they lift up their voice and wept. And they said unto her, Surely we will return with thee unto thy people. And Naomi said,

 "Turn

* Low people to this day tell their story in dialogue, as ancient writers did, and for the same reason. They relate things as they saw and heard them.

† See Elements of Criticism, chap. 22.

" Turn again, my daughters: why will ye go with
" me? are there yet any more huſbands in my
" womb, that they may be your huſbands? Turn
" again, my daughters, go your way, for I am too
" old to have an huſband: If I ſhould ſay, I have
" hope, if I ſhould have a huſband alſo to night, and
" ſhould alſo bear ſons; would you tarry for them
" till they were grown? would ye ſtay for them
" from having huſbands? nay, my daughters; for
" it grieveth me much for your ſakes, that the
" hand of the LORD is gone out againſt me. And
" they lift up their voice and wept again: and
" Orpah kiſſed her mother-in-law, but Ruth clave
" unto her. And ſhe ſaid, Behold, thy ſiſter-in-
" law is gone back unto her people, and unto her
" gods: return thou after thy ſiſter-in-law. And
" Ruth ſaid, Entreat me not to leave thee, or to
" return from following after thee: for whither
" thou goeſt, I will go; and where thou lodgeſt I
" will lodge: thy people ſhall be my people, and
" thy God my God: where thou dieſt, will I die,
" and there will I be buried: the Lord do ſo to
" me, and more alſo, if ought but death part thee
" and me. When ſhe ſaw that ſhe was ſtedfaſtly
" minded to go with her, then ſhe left ſpeaking
" unto her.

" So they two went until they came to Beth-
" lehem. And it came to paſs when they were
" come to Beth-lehem, that all the city was mo-
" ved about them, and they ſaid, Is this Naomi?

" And

" And ſhe ſaid unto them, Call me not Naomi,
" call me Mara: for the Almighty hath dealt ve-
" ry bitterly with me. I went out full, and the
" LORD hath brought me home again empty:
" why then call ye me Naomi, ſeeing the LORD
" hath teſtified againſt me, and the Almighty hath
" afflicted me? So Naomi returned, and Ruth the
" Moabiteſs her daughter-in-law with her, which
" returned out of the country of Moab: and they
" came to Beth-lehem in the beginning of barley-
" harveſt.

" And Naomi had a kinſman of her huſband's,
" a mighty man of wealth, of the family of Eli-
" melech; and his name was Boaz. And Ruth
" the Moabiteſs ſaid unto Naomi, Let me now go
" to the field, and glean ears of corn after him in
" whoſe ſight I ſhall find grace. And ſhe ſaid
" unto her, Go, my daughter. And ſhe went, and
" came, and gleaned in the field after the reapers:
" and her hap was to light on a part of the field
" belonging unto Boaz, who was of the kindred
" of Elimelech.

" And behold, Boaz came from Beth-lehem, and
" ſaid unto the reapers, The LORD be with you:
" and they anſwered him, The LORD bleſs thee.
" Then ſaid Boaz unto his ſervant that was ſet
" over the reapers, Whoſe damſel is this? And
" the ſervant that was ſet over the reapers anſwer-
" ed and ſaid, It is the Moabitiſh damſel that
" came back with Naomi, out of the country of

" Moab: and ſhe ſaid, I pray you let me glean,
" and gather after the reapers, amongſt the ſheaves:
" ſo ſhe came, and hath continued even from the
" morning until now, that ſhe tarried a little in
" the houſe. Then ſaid Boaz unto Ruth, Heareſt
" thou not, my daughter? Go not to glean in
" another field, neither go from hence, but abide
" here faſt by my maidens. Let thine eyes be on
" the field that they do reap, and go thou after
" them: have I not charged the young men, that
" they ſhall not touch thee? and when thou art
" athirſt, go unto the veſſels, and drink of that
" which the young men have drawn. Then ſhe
" fell on her face, and bowed herſelf to the ground,
" and ſaid unto him, Why have I found grace in
" thine eyes, that thou ſhouldſt take knowledge
" of me, ſeeing I am a ſtranger? And Boaz an-
" ſwered and ſaid unto her, It hath fully been
" ſhewed me all that thou haſt done unto thy mo-
" ther-in-law ſince the death of thine huſband:
" and how thou haſt left thy father and thy mo-
" ther, and the land of thy nativity, and art come
" unto a people which thou kneweſt not here-
" tofore. The LORD recompenſe thy work, and a
" full reward be given thee of the LORD God of
" Iſrael, under whoſe wings thou art come to truſt.
" Then ſhe ſaid, Let me find favour in thy ſight,
" my lord, for that thou haſt comforted me, and
" for that thou haſt ſpoken friendly unto thine
" handmaid, though I be not like unto one of
" thine

" thine handmaidens. And Boaz ſaid unto her,
" At meal-time come thou hither, and eat of the
" bread, and dip thy morſel in the vinegar. And
" ſhe ſat beſide the reapers: and he reached her
" parched corn, and ſhe did eat, and was ſufficed,
" and left. And when ſhe was riſen up to glean,
" Boaz commanded his young men, ſaying, Let
" her glean even among the ſheaves, and reproach
" her not. And let fall alſo ſome of the handfuls
" of purpoſe for her, and leave them, that ſhe may
" glean them, and rebuke her not. So ſhe glean-
" ed in the field until even, and beat out that ſhe
" had gleaned: and it was about an ephah of
" barley.

" And ſhe took it up, and went into the city:
" and her mother-in-law ſaw what ſhe had glean-
" ed: and ſhe brought forth, and gave to her that
" ſhe had reſerved, after ſhe was ſufficed. And
" her mother-in-law ſaid unto her, Where haſt
" thou gleaned to day? and where wroughteſt
" thou? bleſſed be he that did take knowledge of
" thee. And ſhe ſhewed her mother-in-law with
" whom ſhe had wrought, and ſaid, The man's
" name with whom I wrought to day, is Boaz.
" And Naomi ſaid unto her daughter-in-law,
" Bleſſed be he of the LORD, who hath not left off
" his kindneſs to the living and to the dead. And
" Naomi ſaid unto her, The man is near of kin
" unto us, one of our next kinſmen. And Ruth
" the Moabiteſs ſaid, He ſaid unto me alſo, Thou
" ſhalt

" ſhalt keep faſt by my young men, until they
" have ended all my harveſt. And Naomi ſaid
" unto Ruth her daughter-in-law, It is good, my
" daughter, that thou go out with his maidens,
" that they meet thee not in any other field. So
" ſhe kept faſt by the maidens of Boaz to glean,
" unto the end of barley-harveſt, and of wheat-
" harveſt; and dwelt with her mother-in-law.

" Then Naomi her mother-in-law ſaid unto her,
" My daughter, ſhall I not ſeek reſt for thee, that
" it may be well with thee? And now is not
" Boaz of our kindred, with whoſe maidens thou
" waſt? Behold, he winnoweth barley to night
" in the threſhing-floor. Waſh thyſelf therefore,
" and anoint thee, and put thy raiment upon thee,
" and get thee down to the floor: but make not
" thyſelf known unto the man, until he ſhall have
" done eating and drinking. And it ſhall be when
" he lieth down, that thou ſhalt mark the place
" where he ſhall lie, and thou ſhall go in, and un-
" cover his feet, and lay thee down, and he will
" tell thee what thou ſhalt do. And ſhe ſaid un-
" to her, All that thou ſayeſt unto me, I will do.

" And ſhe went down unto the floor, and did
" according to all that her mother-in-law bade
" her. And when Boaz had eaten and drunk,
" and his heart was merry, he went to lie down
" at the end of the heap of corn: and ſhe came
" ſoftly, and uncovered his feet, and laid her
" down.

" And

" And it came to paſs at midnight, that the
" man was afraid, and turned himſelf: and be-
" hold, a woman lay at his feet. And he ſaid,
" Who art thou? And ſhe anſwered, I am Ruth
" thine handmaid: ſpread therefore thy ſkirt over
" thine handmaid, for thou art a near kinſman.
" And he ſaid, Bleſſed be thou of the LORD, my
" daughter: for thou haſt ſhewed more kindneſs
" in the latter end, than at the beginning, inaſ-
" much as thou followedſt not young men, whe-
" ther poor or rich. And now, my daughter,
" fear not, I will do to thee all that thou requi-
" reſt: for all the city of my people doth know,
" that thou art a virtuous woman. And now it
" is true, that I am thy near kinſman: howbeit
" there is a kinſman nearer than I. Tarry this
" night, and it ſhall be in the morning, that if he
" will perform unto thee the part of a kinſman,
" well, let him do the kinſman's part; but if he
" will not do the part of a kinſman to thee, then
" will I do the part of a kinſman to thee, as the
" LORD liveth: lie down until the morning.

" And ſhe lay at his feet until the morning:
" and ſhe roſe up before one could know another.
" And he ſaid, Let it not be known that a woman
" came into the floor. Alſo he ſaid, Bring the
" vail that thou haſt upon thee, and hold it. And
" when ſhe held it, he meaſured ſix meaſures of
" barley, and laid it on her: and ſhe went into
" the city. And when ſhe came to her mother-
" in-law,

" in-law, ſhe ſaid, Who art thou, my daughter?
" And ſhe told her all that the man had done to
" her. And ſhe ſaid, Theſe ſix meaſures of bar-
" ley gave he me; for he ſaid to me, Go not
" empty unto thy mother-in-law. Then ſaid ſhe,
" Sit ſtill, my daughter, until thou know how the
" matter will fall: for the man will not be in reſt,
" until he have finiſhed the thing this day.

" Then went Boaz up to the gate, and ſat him
" down there: and behold, the kinſman of whom
" Boaz ſpake, came by; unto whom he ſaid, Ho,
" ſuch a one, turn aſide, ſit down here. And he
" turned aſide, and ſat down. And he took ten
" men of the elders of the city, and ſaid, Sit-ye
" down here. And they ſat down. And he ſaid
" unto the kinſman, Naomi that is come again out
" of the country of Moab, ſelleth a parcel of land,
" which was our brother Elimelech's. And I
" thought to advertiſe thee, ſaying, Buy it before
" the inhabitants, and before the elders of my
" people. If thou wilt redeem it, redeem it; but
" if thou wilt not redeem it, then tell me, that I
" may know: for there is none to redeem it be-
" ſide thee, and I am after thee. And he ſaid, I
" will redeem it. Then ſaid Boaz, What day
" thou buyeſt the field of the hand of Naomi, thou
" muſt buy it alſo of Ruth the Moabiteſs, the wife
" of the dead, to raiſe up the name of the dead
" upon his inheritance. And the kinſman ſaid, I
" cannot redeem it for myſelf, leſt I mar mine
" own

" own inheritance: redeem thou my right to thy-
" ſelf, for I cannot redeem it. Now this was the
" manner in former time in Iſrael, concerning re-
" deeming, and concerning changing, for to con-
" firm all things: A man plucked off his ſhoe, and
" gave it to his neighbour: and this was a teſti-
" mony in Iſrael. Therefore the kinſman ſaid
" unto Boaz, Buy it for thee: ſo he drew off his
" ſhoe. And Boaz ſaid unto the elders, and unto
" all the people, Ye are witneſſes this day, that I
" have bought all that was Elimelech's, and all
" that was Chilion's, and Mahlon's, of the hand
" of Naomi. Moreover, Ruth the Moabiteſs, the
" wife of Mahlon, have I purchaſed to be my
" wife, to raiſe up the name of the dead upon his
" inheritance, that the name of the dead be not
" cut off from among his brethren, and from the
" gate of his place: ye are witneſſes this day.
" And all the people that were in the gate, and
" the elders ſaid, We are witneſſes: The Lord
" make the woman that is come into thine houſe,
" like Rachel, and like Leah, which two did build
" the houſe of Iſrael: and do thou worthily in
" Ephratah, and be famous in Beth-lehem. And
" let thy houſe be like the houſe of Pharez (whom
" Tamar bare unto Judah) of the ſeed which the
" LORD ſhall give thee of this young woman.

" So Boaz took Ruth, and ſhe was his wife: and
" when he went in unto her, the LORD gave her
" conception, and ſhe bare a ſon. And the wo-
" men

" men ſaid unto Naomi, Bleſſed be the LORD, " which hath not left thee this day without a kinſ- " man, that his name may be famous in Iſrael. " And he ſhall be unto thee a reſtorer of thy life, " and a nouriſher of thine old age: for thy daugh- " ter-in-law which loveth thee, which is better to " thee than ſeven ſons, hath born him. And " Naomi took the child, and laid it in her boſom, " and became nurſe unto it *."

The dramatic mode is far from being ſo agreeable in relating bare hiſtorical facts. Take the following example.

" Wherefore Nathan ſpake unto Bath-ſheba the " mother of Solomon, ſaying, Haſt thou not heard " that Adonijah the ſon of Haggith doth reign, " and David our lord knoweth it not? Now " therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee " counſel, that thou mayſt ſave thine own life, " and the life of thy ſon Solomon. Go, and get " thee in unto king David, and ſay unto him, " Didſt not thou, my lord O king, ſwear unto " thine handmaid, ſaying, Aſſuredly Solomon thy " ſon ſhall reign after me, and he ſhall ſit upon " my throne? Why then doth Adonijah reign? " Behold, while thou yet talkeſt there with the " king, I alſo will come in after thee, and confirm " thy words.

" And Bath-ſheba went in unto the king, into " the chamber: and the king was very old; and " Abiſhag

* Ruth i. 8.—iv. 16.

" Abiſhag the Shunammite miniſtered unto the
" king. And Bath-ſheba bowed, and did obei-
" ſance unto the king: and the king ſaid, What
" wouldſt thou? And ſhe ſaid unto him, My lord,
" thou ſwareſt by the LORD thy God unto thine
" handmaid, ſaying, Aſſuredly Solomon thy ſon
" ſhall reign after me, and he ſhall ſit upon my
" throne: and now behold, Adonijah reigneth;
" and now my lord the king, thou knoweſt it not.
" And he hath ſlain oxen, and fat cattle, and
" ſheep in abundance, and hath called all the ſons
" of the king, and Abiathar the prieſt, and Joab
" the captain of the hoſt: but Solomon thy ſer-
" vant hath he not called. And thou, my lord
" O king, the eyes of all Iſrael are upon thee, that
" thou ſhouldſt tell them who ſhall ſit on the
" throne of my lord the king after him. Other-
" wiſe it ſhall come to paſs, when my lord the
" king ſhall ſleep with his fathers, that I and my
" ſon Solomon ſhall be counted offenders.

" And lo, while ſhe yet talked with the king,
" Nathan the prophet alſo came in. And they
" told the king, ſaying, Behold, Nathan the pro-
" phet. And when he was come in before the
" king, he bowed himſelf before the king with his
" face to the ground. And Nathan ſaid, My lord
" O king, haſt thou ſaid, Adonijah ſhall reign af-
" ter me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne? For
" he is gone down this day, and hath ſlain oxen,
" and fat cattle, and ſheep in abundance, and hath
" called

" called all the king's ſons, and the captains of
" the hoſt, and Abiathar the prieſt; and behold,
" they eat and drink before him, and ſay, God
" ſave king Adonijah. But me, even me thy ſer-
" vant, and Zadok the prieſt, and Benaiah the ſon
" of Jehoiada, and thy ſervant Solomon hath he
" not called. Is this thing done by my lord the
" king, and thou haſt not ſhewed it unto thy ſer-
" vant who ſhould ſit on the throne of my lord
" the king after him?

" Then king David anſwered and ſaid, Call me
" Bath-ſheba: and ſhe came into the king's pre-
" ſence, and ſtood before the king. And the king
" ſware, and ſaid, As the LORD liveth, that hath
" redeemed my ſoul out of all diſtreſs, even as I
" ſware unto thee by the LORD God of Iſrael, ſay-
" ing, Aſſuredly Solomon thy ſon ſhall reign after
" me, and he ſhall ſit upon my throne in my ſtead;
" even ſo will I certainly do this day. Then
" Bath-ſheba bowed with her face to the earth,
" and did reverence to the king, and ſaid, Let my
" lord king David live for ever.

" And king David ſaid, Call me Zadok the prieſt,
" and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the ſon
" of Jehoiada. And they came before the king.
" The king alſo ſaid unto them, Take with you
" the ſervants of your lord, and cauſe Solomon my
" ſon to ride upon mine own mule, and bring him
" down to Gihon. And let Zadok the prieſt, and
" Nathan the prophet, anoint him there king over
" Iſrael:

" Iſrael: and blow ye with the trumpet, and
" ſay, God ſave king Solomon. Then ye ſhall
" come up after him, that he may come and ſit
" upon my throne; for he ſhall be king in my
" ſtead: and I have appointed him to be ruler
" over Iſrael, and over Judah. And Benaiah the
" ſon of Jehoiada anſwered the king, and ſaid,
" Amen: the LORD GOD of my lord the king ſay
" ſo too. As the LORD hath been with my lord
" the king, even ſo be he with Solomon, and make
" his throne greater than the throne of my lord
" king David. So Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan
" the prophet, and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada,
" and the Cherethites and the Pelethites, went
" down and cauſed Solomon to ride upon king
" David's mule, and brought him to Gihon. And
" Zadok the prieſt took an horn of oil out of the
" tabernacle, and anointed Solomon: and they
" blew the trumpet, and all the people ſaid, God
" ſave king Solomon. And all the people came
" up after him, and the people piped with pipes,
" and rejoiced with great joy, ſo that the earth
" rent with the ſound of them.

" And Adonijah, and all the gueſts that were
" with him, heard it, as they had made an end of
" eating: and when Joab heard the ſound of the
" trumpet, he ſaid, Wherefore is this noiſe of the
" city, being in an uproar? And while he yet
" ſpake, behold, Jonathan the ſon of Abiathar the
" prieſt came, and Adonijah ſaid unto him, Come

" in, for thou art a valiant man, and bringeſt good
" tidings. And Jonathan anſwered and ſaid to
" Adonijah, Verily our lord king David hath
" made Solomon king. And the king has ſent
" with him Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan the pro-
" phet, and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada, and the
" Cherethites, and the Pelethites, and they have
" cauſed him to ride upon the king's mule. And
" Zadok the prieſt, and Nathan the prophet have
" anointed him king in Gihon: and they are come
" up from thence rejoicing, ſo that the city rang
" again: this is the noiſe that ye have heard.
" And alſo Solomon ſitteth on the throne of the
" kingdom. And moreover the king's ſervants
" came to bleſs our lord king David, ſaying, God
" make the name of Solomon better than thy
" name, and make his throne greater than thy
" throne: and the king bowed himſelf upon the
" bed. And alſo thus ſaid the king, Bleſſed be
" the LORD GOD of Iſrael, which hath given one
" to ſit on my throne this day, mine eyes even
" ſeeing it. And all the gueſts that were with
" Adonijah were afraid, and roſe up, and went
" every man his way *."

In the example here given are found frequent repetitions; not however by the ſame perſon, but by different perſons who have occaſion in the courſe of the incidents to ſay the ſame things; which is natural

* 1 Kings i. 11.—49.

natural in the dramatic mode, where things are repreſented preciſely as they were tranſacted. In that view, Homer's repetitions are a beauty, not a blemiſh; for they are confined to the dramatic part, and never occur in the narrative. In the 24th chapter of Geneſis, there is a repetition preciſely in the manner of Homer.

But the dramatic mode of compoſition, however pleaſing, is tedious and intolerable in a long hiſtory. In the progreſs of ſociety, new appetites and new paſſions ariſe; men come to be involved with each other in various connections; incidents and events multiply, and hiſtory becomes intricate by an endleſs variety of circumſtances. Dialogue, accordingly, is more ſparingly uſed, and in hiſtory plain narration is mixed with it. Narration is as it were the ground-work, and dialogue is raiſed upon it, like flowers in embroidery. Homer is admitted by all to be the great maſter in that mode of compoſition. Nothing can be more perfect in that reſpect than the Iliad. The Odyſſey is far inferior; and to guard myſelf againſt the cenſure of the undiſtinguiſhing admirers of Homer, a tribe extremely formidable, I call to my aid a celebrated critic, whoſe ſuperior taſte and judgment never was diſputed. "The Odyſſey," ſays Longinus, "ſhows how "natural it is for a writer of a great genius, in his "declining age, to ſink down to fabulous narration; "for that Homer compoſed the Odyſſey after the "Iliad, is evident from many circumſtances. As

" the Iliad was compoſed while his genius was in
" its greateſt vigour, the ſtructure of that work
" is dramatic and full of action; the Odyſſey, on
" the contrary, is moſtly employed in narration,
" proceeding from the coldneſs of old age. In
" that later compoſition, Homer may be compared
" to the ſetting ſun, which has ſtill the ſame great-
" neſs, but not the ſame ardor or force. We ſee
" not in the Odyſſey that ſublime of the Iliad,
" which conſtantly proceeds in the ſame anima-
" ted tone, that ſtrong tide of motions and paſ-
" ſions flowing ſucceſſively like waves in a ſtorm.
" But Homer, like the ocean, is great, even when
" he ebbs, and loſes himſelf in narration and in-
" credible fictions; witneſs his deſcription of tem-
" peſts, the adventures of Ulyſſes with Polyphe-
" mus the Cyclops, and many others *."

The narrative mode came in time ſo to prevail, that in a long chain of hiſtory, the writer commonly leaves off dialogue altogether. Early writers of that kind appear to have had very little judgment in diſtinguiſhing capital facts from minute circumſtances, ſuch as can be ſupplied by the reader without being mentioned. The hiſtory of the Trojan war by Dares Phrygius is a curious in-

ſtance

* The *Pilgrim's Progreſs*, and *Robiſon Cruſoe*, great favourites of the vulgar, are compoſed in a ſtyle enlivened like that of Homer, by a proper mixture of the dramatic and narrative; and upon that account, chiefly, have been tranſlated into ſeveral European languages.

ſtance of that cold and creeping manner of compoſition. Take the following paſſage. Hercules having made a deſcent upon Troy, ſlew King Laomedon, and made a preſent of Heſione, the king's daughter, to Telamon his companion. Priamus, who ſucceeded to the kingdom of Troy upon the death of his father Laomedon, ſent Antenor to demand his ſiſter Heſione. Our author proceeds in the following mannner: "Antenor, as commanded by Priamus, took ſhipping, and ſailed to Magneſia, where Peleus reſided. Peleus entertained him hoſpitably three days, and the fourth day demanded whence he came. Antenor ſaid, that he was ordered by Priamus to demand from the Greeks, that they ſhould reſtore Heſione. When Peleus heard this he was angry, becauſe it concerned his family, Telamon being his brother; and ordered the ambaſſador to depart. Antenor, without delay, retired to his ſhip, and ſailed to Salamis, where Telamon reſided, and demanded of him, that he ſhould reſtore Heſione to her brother Priamus, as it was unjuſt to detain ſo long in ſervitude a young woman of royal birth. Telamon anſwered, that he had done nothing to Priamus; and that he would not reſtore what he had received as a reward for his valour; and ordered Antenor to leave the iſland. Antenor went to Achaia; and ſailing from thence to Caſtor and Pollux, demanded of them to ſatisfy Priamus, by reſtoring to him

" his ſiſter Heſione. Caſtor and Pollux denied " that they had done any injury to Priamus, but " that Laomedon had firſt injured them; order- " ing Antenor to depart. From thence he ſailed " to Neſtor in Pylus, telling him the cauſe of his " coming; which when Neſtor heard, he begun " to exclaim, how Antenor durſt ſet his foot in " Greece, ſeeing the Greeks were firſt injured by " the Phrygians. When Antenor found that he " had obtained nothing, and that Priamus was con- " tumelioſly treated, he went on ſhipboard, and " returned home." The Roman hiſtories, before the time of Cicero are chronicles merely. Cato, Fabius Pictor, and Piſo, confined themſelves to naked facts *. In the *Auguſtæ Hiſtoriæ ſcriptores* we find nothing but a jejune narrative of facts, commonly very little intereſting, concerning a degenerate people, without a ſingle incident that can rouſe the imagination, or exerciſe the judgment. The monkiſh hiſtories are all of them compoſed in the ſame manner †.

The

* Cicero de Oratore, lib. ii. N° 5.

† Euripides, in his Phœnicians, introduces Œdipus, under ſentence of baniſhment, and blind, calling for his ſtaff, his daughter Antigone putting it in his hand and directing every ſtep, to keep him from ſtumbling. Such minute circumſtances, like what are frequent in Richardſon's novels, tend indeed to make the reader conceive himſelf to be a ſpectator ‡: but whether that advantage be not more than over-balanced by the languor of a creeping narrative, may be juſtly doubted.

‡ See Elements of Criticiſm, ch. ii, part 1. ſect. 7.

The dry narrative manner being very little interesting or agreeable, a taste for embellishment prompted some writers to be copious and verbose. Saxo Grammaticus, who in the 12th century composed in Latin a history of Denmark, surprisingly pure for that early period, is extremely verbose, and full of tautologies. Such a style, at any rate unpleasant, is intolerable in a modern tongue, before it is enriched with a stock of phrases for expressing aptly the great variety of incidents that enter into history. Take the following example out of an endless number. Henry VII. of England, having the young Queen of Naples in view for a wife, deputed three men, in character of ambassadors, to visit her, *and to answer certain questions contained in curious and exquisite instructions for taking a survey of her person, complexion, &c.* as expressed by Bacon in his life of that prince. One of the instructions was, to procure a picture of the Queen, which one would think could not require many words, yet behold the instruction itself. "The King's said servants shall also, at their "comyng to the parties of Spayne, diligently en-"quere for some conynge paynter having good "experience in making and paynting of visages "and portretures, and suche oon they shall take "with them to the place where the said Quuins "make their abode, to the intent that the said "paynter maye draw a picture of the visage and "semblance of the said young Quine, as like unto

"her as it can or may be conveniently doon, which "picture and image they ſhall ſubſtantially note, "and marke in every pounte and circumſtance, "ſoo that it agree in ſimilitude and likeneſſe as "near as it may poſſible to the veray viſage, coun-"tenance, and ſemblance of the ſaid Quine; and "in caſe they may perceyve that the paynter, at "the furſt or ſecond making thereof, hath not "made the ſame perfaite to her ſimilytude and "likeneſſe, or that he hath omitted any feiture or "circumſtance, either in colours, or other propor-"cions of the ſaid viſage, then they ſhall cauſe the "ſame paynter, or ſome other the moſt conyng "paynter that they can gete ſoo oftentimes to re-"newe and reforme the ſame picture, till it be "made perfaite, and agreeable in every behalfe, "with the very image and viſage of the ſaid "Quine *." After this ſpecimen ſo much approved by his Lordſhip, one will not be ſurpriſed at the flatneſs of the hiſtorical ſtyle during that period. By that flatneſs of ſtyle Lord Bacon's hiſtory

* The following paſſage, copied from an Edinburgh newſpaper, may almoſt rival this eloquent piece. After obſerving that the froſt was intenſe, which, ſays the writer, renders travelling very dangerous either in town or country, he proceeds thus: "We would therefore recommend it to ſhopkeepers, "and thoſe whoſe houſes are cloſe upon the ſtreets or lanes, "to ſcatter aſhes oppoſite to their doors, as it may be a means "of preventing paſſengers from falling. which they are in "great danger of doing at preſent, from the ſlippineſs of the "ſtreets, where that practice is not followed."

ry of Henry VII. ſinks below the gravity and dignity of hiſtory; particularly in his ſimiles, metaphors, and alluſions, no leſs diſtant than flat. Of Perkin Warbeck and his followers, he ſays, "that "they were now like ſand without lime, ill bound "together." Again, "But Perkin, adviſed to keep "his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon "green wood, alive with continual blowing, ſailed "again to Ireland." Again, "As in the tides of "people once up, there want not commonly ſtir-"ring winds to make them more rough, ſo this "people did light upon two ringleaders or cap-"tains." Again, ſpeaking of the Corniſh inſurgents, and of the cauſes that inflamed them, "But "now theſe bubbles by much ſtirring began to "meet, as they uſed to do on the top of water." Again, ſpeaking of Perkin, "And as it fareth with "ſmoak, that never loſeth itſelf till it be at the "higheſt, he did now before his end raiſe his ſtile, "intytling himſelf no more Richard Duke of York, "but Richard the Fourth, King of England." He deſcends ſometimes ſo low as to play upon words; witneſs the following ſpeech made for Perkin to the King of Scotland. "High and mighty King! "your Grace may be pleaſed beningly to bow "your ears to hear the tragedy of a young man "that by right ought to hold in his hand the ball "of a kingdom, but by fortune is made himſelf a "ball, toſſed from miſery to miſery, and from "place to place." The following is a ſtrangely forced

forced allusion. Talking of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, who had patronized Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, he says, "It is the strangest "thing in the world, that the Lady Margaret "should now, when other women give over child-"bearing, bring forth two such monsters, be-"ing, at birth, not of nine or ten months, but of "many years. And whereas other natural mo-"thers bring furth children weak, and not able "to help themselves, she bringeth furth tall strip-"lings, able, soon after their coming into the "world, to bid battle to mighty kings." I should not have given so many instances of puerilities in composition, were they not the performance of a great philosopher. Low indeed must have been the taste of that age, when it infected its greatest genius.

The perfection of historical composition, which writers at last attain to after wandering through various imperfect modes, is a relation of interesting facts connected with their motives and consequences. A history of that kind is truly a chain of causes and effects. The history of Thucydides, and still more that of Tacitus, are shining instances of that mode. There was not a book written in France correct in its style before the year 1654, when the *Lettres Provinciales* appeared; nor a book in a good historical style before the history of the conspiracy against Venice by the Abbé St Real.

A

A language in its original poverty, being deficient in ſtrength and variety, has nothing at command for enforcing a thought but to redouble the expreſſion. Inſtances are without number in the Old Teſtament. "And they ſay, How doth God "know, and is there knowledge in the Moſt "High?" Again, "Thus ſhalt thou ſay to the "houſe of Jacob, and tell to the children of Iſ-"rael." Again, "I will be an enemy unto thine "enemies, and an adverſary unto thine adverſa-"ries." Again, "To know wiſdom and inſtruc-"tion, to perceive the words of underſtanding, to "receive the inſtruction of wiſdom." "She lay-"eth her hands to the ſpindle, and her hands hold "the diſtaff." "Put away from thee a froward "mouth, and perverſe lips put far from thee. Let "thine eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids "look ſtraight before thee."

Eloquence was of a later date than the art of literary compoſition; for till the latter was improved, there were no models for ſtudying the former. Cicero's oration for Roſcius is compoſed in a ſtyle diffuſe and highly ornamented; which, ſays Plutarch, was univerſally approved, becauſe at that time the ſtyle of Aſia, introduced into Rome with its luxury, was in high vogue. But Cicero, in a journey to Greece, where he leiſurely ſtudied Greek authors, was taught to prune off ſuperfluities, and to purify his ſtyle, which he did to a high degree of refinement. He introduced into his native

tongue

tongue a ſweetneſs, a grace, a majeſty, that ſurpriſed the world, and even the Romans themſelves. Cicero obſerves with great regret, that if ambition for power had not drawn Julius Cæſar from the bar to command legions, he would have become the moſt complete orator in the world. So partial are men to the profeſſion in which they excel. Eloquence triumphs in a popular aſſembly, makes ſome figure in a court of law compoſed of many judges; very little where there is but a ſingle judge, and none at all in a deſpotic government. Eloquence flouriſhed in the republics of Athens and of Rome; and makes ſome figure at preſent in a Britiſh Houſe of Commons.

In Athens eloquence could not but flouriſh. In an aſſembly of the people, conſiſting of 5000 and upward, where every individual was entitled to give his opinion, the certainty of employing the talent of eloquence, was a ſtrong motive with every young man of ambition to ſtudy that art. In Britain, very few are certain of obtaining a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons; and that man muſt have great perſeverance who can beſtow years in acquiring an art that he may never have occaſion to exerciſe. The eldeſt ſons of peers have indeed a nearer proſpect of a ſeat in the upper houſe: but young men of quality are commonly too much addicted to pleaſure; and many of them come not to be peers till the fire of youth is ſpent. I am ſorry to add another reaſon. Eloquence can never

make

make a capital figure, but where patriotiſm is the ruling paſſion; for what can it avail among men who are deaf to every motive but what contributes to the intereſt or ambition of their party? When Demoſthenes commenced his career of eloquence, patriotiſm made a figure in Athens, though it was on the decline. Had that great orator appeared more early, his authority in Athens would have been ſupreme *.

The Greek ſtage has been juſtly admired among all polite nations. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides in particular are by all critics held to be perfect in their kind, excellent models for imitation, but far above rivalſhip. If the Greek ſtage was ſo early brought to maturity, it is a phenomenon not a little ſingular in the progreſs of arts. The Greek tragedy made a rapid progreſs from Theſpes to Sophocles and Euripides, whoſe compoſitions are indeed the moſt complete that ever were exhibited in Greece: but whether they be really ſuch maſterpieces as is generally thought, will admit ſome doubt. The ſubject is curious: and the candid reader will give attention.

No

* Eloquence is neceſſary to thoſe only who requeſt, not to thoſe who command. The Spartans, a bold and firm people, were deciſive in their reſolutions, and of few words; whence the laconic ſtyle. Take a modern inſtance of that ſtyle. In the year 1487, cauſes of diſcontent ariſing between O'Neal and Tirconnel, two Iriſh chieftains, the former wrote to the latter, "Send me tribute, or elſe." The latter anſwered, "I owe you none, and if."

No human voice could fill the Greek theatre, which was ſo ſpacious as to contain ſeveral thouſands without crowding. A braſs pipe was invented to ſtrengthen the voice; but that invention deſtroyed the melody of pronunciation, by confining the voice to a harſh monotony. The pipe was not the only unpleaſant circumſtance: every actor wore a maſk; for what end or purpoſe is not explained. It may be true, that the expreſſions of the countenance could not be diſtinctly ſeen by thoſe who occupied the back rows; and a maſk poſſibly was thought neceſſary in order to put all the citizens upon a level. But without prying into the cauſe, let us only figure an actor with a maſk and a pipe. He may repreſent tolerably a ſimple incident or plain thought, ſuch as are the materials of an Italian opera; but the voice, countenance, and geſtures, are indiſpenſable in expreſſing refined ſentiments, and the more delicate tones of paſſion.

Where then lies the charm in ancient tragedies that captivated all ranks of men? Greek tragedies are more active than ſentimental; they contain many judicious reflections on morals, manners, and upon life in general; but no ſentiments except what are plain and obvious. The ſubjects are of the ſimpleſt kind, ſuch as give riſe to the paſſions of hope, fear, love, hatred, envy, and revenge, in their moſt ordinary exertions: no intricate or delicate ſituation to occaſion any ſingular emotion; no gradual

dual ſwelling and ſubſiding of paſſion; and ſeldom any conflict between different paſſions. I would not however be underſtood as meaning to depreciate Greek tragedies. They are indeed wonderful productions of genius, conſidering that the Greeks at that period were but beginning to emerge from roughneſs and barbarity into a taſte for literature. The compoſitions of Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, muſt have been highly reliſhed among a people who had no idea of any thing more perfect: we judge by compariſon, and every work is held to be perfect that has no rival. It ought at the ſame time to be kept in view, that it was not the dialogue which chiefly enchanted the Athenians, nor variety in the paſſions repreſented, nor perfection in the actors, but machinery and pompous decoration, accompanied with exquiſite muſic. That theſe particulars were carried to the greateſt height, we may with certainty conclude from the extravagant ſums beſtowed on them: the exhibiting a ſingle tragedy was more expenſive to the Athenians than their fleet or their army in any ſingle campaign.

One would imagine, however, that theſe compoſitions are too ſimple to enchant for ever; as without variety in action, ſentiment, and paſſion, the ſtage will not continue long a favourite entertainment: and yet we find not a ſingle improvement attempted after the days of Sophocles and Euripides. This may appear a matter of wonder at

at firſt view. But the wonder vaniſhes upon conſidering, that the manner of performance prevented abſolutely any improvement. A fluctuation of paſſion and refined ſentiments would have made no figure on the Greek ſtage. Imagine the diſcording ſcene between Brutus and Caſſius, in Julius Cæſar, to be there exhibited, or the handkerchief in the Moor of Venice: how ſlight would be their effect, when pronounced in a maſk, and through a pipe? The workings of nature upon the countenance and the flexions of voice expreſſive of various feelings, ſo deeply affecting in modern repreſentation, would have been entirely loſt. If a great genius had ariſen with talents for compoſing a pathetic tragedy in perfection, he would have made no figure in Greece. An edifice muſt have been erected of a moderate ſize: new players muſt have been trained to act without a maſk, and to pronounce in their own voice. And, after all, there remained a greater miracle ſtill to be wrought, namely, a total reformation of taſte in the people of Athens. In one word, the ſimplicity of the Greek tragedy was ſuited to the manner of acting, and that manner excluded all improvements.

In compoſing a tragedy, the Grecian writers ſeem to have had no aim but to exhibit on the ſtage ſome known event as it was ſuppoſed to have happened. To give a diſtinct notion of the event before-hand, a perſon introduced on the ſtage related every incident to the audience; and that

perſon

perſon ſometimes gave a particular account of all that was to happen during the action, which ſeems to me a very idle thing. This ſpeech was termed *the prologue*. There was no notion of an invented fable, by which the audience might be kept in ſuſpenſe during the action. In a word, a Greek tragedy reſembles in every reſpect a hiſtory-picture, in which is repreſented ſome event known to all the world. Thus we ſee the ſame ſubject handled by different tragic writers, each ſhowing his genius in the manner of repreſenting it. Shakeſpeare's hiſtorical plays are all of the ſame kind. But the entertainment afforded by ſuch a compoſition is far inferior to what ariſes from an unknown ſtory, where every incident is new, where the hopes and fears of the audience are kept in conſtant agitation, and where all is ſuſpended till the final concluſion.

From theſe premiſes an inference may with certainty be drawn, that delicacy of taſte and feeling were but faintly known among the Greeks, even when they made the greateſt figure. Muſic, indeed, may be ſucceſsfully employed in a ſentimental tragedy; but pomp and ſplendour avail nothing. A ſpectator deeply affected is regardleſs of decoration. I appeal to the reproving ſcene between Hamlet and the Queen his mother: does any man of taſte give the ſlighteſt attention to the beauty of the ſcenery? It would, however, be raſh to involve in the ſame cenſure every Athenian.

an. Do not pantomime-ſhow, rope-dancing, and other ſuch faſhionable ſpectacles, draw multitudes from the deepeſt tragedies? and yet among us there are perſons of taſte, not a few, who deſpiſe ſuch ſpectacles as fit only for the mob, perſons who never bowed the knee to Baal. And, if there were ſuch perſons in Athens, of which we have no reaſon to doubt, it evinces the ſuperiority of their taſte: they had no example of more refined compoſitions than were exhibited on their ſtage; we have many.

With reſpect to comedy, it does not appear that the Greek comedy ſurpaſſed the tragedy, in its progreſs toward perfection. Horace mentions three ſtages of Greek comedy. The firſt was well ſuited to the rough and coarſe manners of the Greeks when Eupolis, Cratinus, and Ariſtophanes wrote. Theſe authors were not aſhamed to repreſent on the ſtage real perſons, not even diſguiſing their names; of which we have a ſtriking inſtance in a comedy of Ariſtophanes, called *The Clouds*, where Socrates is introduced, and moſt contemptuouſly treated. This ſort of comedy, ſparing neither gods nor men, was reſtrained by the magiſtrates of Athens forbidding perſons to be named on the ſtage. This led writers to do what is imitated by us: the characters and manners of known perſons were painted ſo much to the life, that there could be no miſtake. The ſatire was indeed heightened by this regulation, as every one contributed to the

ſatire

ſatire by detecting the perſons who were meant in the repreſentation. This was termed the *middle comedy*. But, as there ſtill remained too great ſcope for obloquy and licentiouſneſs, a law was made, prohibiting real events or incidents to be introduced upon the ſtage. This law happily baniſhed ſatire againſt individuals, and confined it to manners and cuſtoms in general. Obedient to this law, are the comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, who flouriſhed about 300 years before the Chriſtian era. And this is termed the *third ſtage* of Greek comedy. The comedies of Ariſtophanes, which ſtill remain, err no leſs againſt taſte than againſt decency. But we have good ground to believe, that the Greek comedy was conſiderably refined by Menander and his cotemporaries; tho' we muſt rely upon collateral evidence, having very few remains of them. Their works, however, were far from perfection, if we can draw any conjecture from their imitator Plautus, who wrote about a century later. Plautus was a writer of genius; and it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed that his copies did not fall greatly ſhort of the originals, in matters at leaſt that can be faithfully copied. At that rate, they muſt have been extremely defective in their ſubjects, as well as in the conduct of their pieces, for he ſhows very little art in either. With reſpect to the former, his plots are wondrous ſimple, very little varied, and very little intereſting. The ſubject of almoſt every

piece is a young man in love with a muſic-girl, deſiring to purchaſe her from the procurer, and employing a favourite ſlave to cheat his father out of the price; and the different ways of accompliſhing the cheat, is all the variety we find. In ſome few of his comedies, the ſtory riſes to a higher tone, the muſic-girl being diſcovered to be the daughter of a free man, which removes every obſtruction to a marriage between her and her lover. With reſpect to the conduct of his pieces, there is a miſerable defect of art. Inſtead of unfolding the ſubject in the progreſs of the action, as is done by Terence and by every modern writer, Plautus introduces an actor, for no better purpoſe than to explain the ſtory to the audience. In one of his comedies, a houſehold-god is ſo obliging as not only to unfold the ſubject, but to relate beforehand every particular that is to be repreſented, not excepting the cataſtrophé. Did not Plautus know, that it is pleaſant to have our curioſity raiſed about what will happen next? In the courſe of the action, perſons are frequently introduced who are heard talking to themſelves on the open ſtreet. One would imagine the Greeks to have been great babblers, when they could not refrain ſoliloquies even in public. Could Plautus have been ſo artleſs in the conduct of his pieces, had a more perfect model been exhibited to him by Menander or the other authors mentioned?

It

It is obſerved in Elements of Criticiſm *, that when a language has received ſome poliſh, and the meaning of words is tolerably aſcertained, then it is that a play of words comes to be reliſhed. At that period of the Roman language, Plautus wrote. His wit conſiſts almoſt entirely in a play of words, an eternal jingle, words brought together that have nearly the ſame ſound, with different meanings, and words of different ſounds that have the ſame meaning. As the Greek language had arrived to its perfection many years before, ſuch falſe wit may be juſtly aſcribed to Plautus himſelf, not to the Greeks from whom he copied. What was the period of that baſtard wit in Greece, I know not; but it appears not to have been antiquated in Homer's days, witneſs the joke in the Odyſſey, where Ulyſſes impoſed upon Polyphemus, by calling him *Houtis* or *No-man*. Nor ſeems it to have been antiquated in the days of Euripides, who in his Cyclops repeats the ſame ſilly joke. The Roman genius ſoon purged their compoſitions of ſuch infantine beauties; for in Terence, who wrote about fifty years later than Plautus, there is ſcarce a veſtige of them. The dialogue beſide of Terence is more natural and correct, not a word but to the purpoſe: Plautus is full of tautologies, and digreſſions very little to the purpoſe. In a word, conſidering the ſlow progreſs of arts, the Roman theatre, from the time of Plautus to that of Terence, made as rapid a progreſs as perhaps ever

 happened

* Chap. 13.

happened in any country. Ariſtotle defines comedy to be an imitation of light and trivial ſubjects provoking laughter. The comedies of Plautus correſpond accurately to that definition: thoſe of Terence riſe to a higher tone.

Beſide the diſadvantages of the maſk and pipe mentioned above, there are two cauſes that tended to keep back the Greek and Roman comedy from the perfection of its kind. The firſt is the ſlow progreſs of ſociety among theſe nations, occaſioned by ſeparating from the female ſex. Where women are excluded from ſociety, it never can arrive at any degree of refinement, not to talk of perfection. In a ſociety of men and women, every one endeavours to ſhine: every latent talent, and every variety of character, are brought to light. To judge from ancient writers, man was a very plain being. Tacitus wrote when ſociety between the ſexes was abundantly free; and in no author before him is to be found any thing beyond the outlines of character. In ancient comedies there are miſers, lovers, paraſites, procurers; but the individuals of each claſs are caſt in the ſame mould. In the Rudens of Plautus, it is true, a miſer is painted with much anxiety about his hidden treaſure, every trifling incident being converted by him into a cauſe of ſuſpicion; but he is ſtill the ſame miſer that is painted by others, without any ſhade or ſingularity in the character. Homer is the only ancient that deſerves to be excepted: his heroes

heroes have all courage; but courage in each is clearly of a diſtinct kind. Knowledge of an endeſs variety of character in the human ſpecies, acquired from unreſtrained ſociety, has enabled the moderns to enrich the theatre with new characters without end. What elſe is it but defect of knowledge in the diſpoſitions of men, that has confined he comedies of Plautus and Terence, like thoſe of Italy, to a very few characters?

Nothing is more evident, than the ſuperiority of Terence above Plautus in the art of writing; and, conſidering that Terence is a later writer, nothing would appear more natural, if they did not copy the ſame originals. It may be owing to genius that Terence excels in purity of language, and propriety of dialogue; but how account for his ſuperiority over Plautus in the conſtruction and conduct of a play? It will not certainly be thought, that Plautus would copy the worſt models leaving the beſt to future writers. This difficulty has not occurred to any of the commentators, as far as I can recollect. If it be fair to judge of Menander and of his cotemporaries from Plautus their imitator, the talents of Terence muſt have been great, to excel all of them ſo much both in the conſtruction and conduct of his plays.

Homer, for more than two thouſand years, has been held the prince of poets. Such perfection in an author who flouriſhed when arts were far ſhort of maturity, would be ſurpriſing, would be mira-

culous. An author of genius * has endeavoured to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; and I willingly acknowledge, that he has exerted much induſtry, as well as invention; but, in my apprehenſion, without giving ſatisfaction. The new light that is thrown above upon the Greek theatre, has emboldened me to attempt a criticiſm on the Iliad, in order to judge whether Homer has ſo far anticipated the ordinary progreſs of nature, as in a very early period to have arrived at the perfection of his art.

To form a good writer, genius and judgment muſt concur. Nature ſupplies the former; but, to the latter, inſtruction and imitation are eſſential. Shakeſpeare lived in an age that afforded him little opportunity to cultivate or improve his judgment; and, though inimitable in every article that depends on genius, there are found many defects in the conduct of his plays, and in other particulars, that require judgment ripened by experience. Homer lived in a rude age, little advanced in uſeful arts, and ſtill leſs in civilization and enlarged benevolence. The nations engaged in the Trojan war, are deſcribed by him as in a progreſs from the ſhepherd-ſtate to that of agriculture. In the Iliad, many eminent men are ſaid to be ſhepherds. Andromaché, in particular †, mentions ſeven of her brethren, who were ſlain by Achilles as they

* Eſſay on the Life and Writings of Homer.

† Book vi.

they tended their father's flocks and herds. In that ſtate, garments of woollen cloth were uſed; but the ſkins of beaſts, the original clothing, were ſtill worn as an upper garment: every chief in the Iliad appears in that dreſs. Such, indeed, was the ſimplicity of this early period, that a black ewe was promiſed by each chief to the man who would undertake to be a ſpy. In ſuch times literature could not be far advanced; and it is a great doubt, whether there was at that time a ſingle poem of the epic kind, for Homer to imitate or improve upon. Homer is undoubtedly a wonderful genius, perhaps the greateſt that ever exiſted: his fire, and the boldneſs of his conceptions are inimitable. But, in that early age, it would fall little ſhort of a real miracle, to find ſuch ripeneſs of judgment and correctneſs of execution, as in modern writers are the fruits of long experience and progreſſive improvements, during the courſe of many centuries. Homer is far from being ſo ripe or ſo correct. I ſhall mention but two or three particulars; for, to dwell upon the imperfections of ſo illuſtrious an author, is not pleaſant. The firſt is, that he reduces his heroes to be little better than puppets. Not one of them performs an action of eclat, but with the aſſiſtance of ſome deity: even Achilles himſelf is every where aided by ſuperior powers. It is Jupiter who inſpires Hector with boldneſs to perform the heroic actions ſo finely deſcribed in the 15th book; and

and it is Jupiter who, changing ſides, fills his heart with diſmay. Glaucus, deſperately wounded, ſupplicates Apollo, is miraculouſly healed, and returns to the battle perfectly ſound. Hector, ſtruck to the ground with a ſtone, and at the point of giving up the ghoſt, is cured by Apollo, and ſent back to the battle with redoubled vigour. Homer reſembles a ſect of Chriſtians, who hold, that a man can do nothing of himſelf, and that he is merely an inſtrument which God employs, as we do a ſpade or a hatchet. Can Homer's admirers be ſo blind as not to perceive, that this ſort of machinery detracts from the dignity of his heroes, renders them leſs intereſting, and leſs worthy of admiration? Homer, however, is deſervedly ſuch a favourite, that we are prone to admit any excuſe. In days of ignorance, people are much addicted to the marvellous. Homer himſelf, it may be juſtly ſuppoſed, was infected with that weakneſs; and he certainly knew, that his hearers would be enchanted with every thing wonderful, and out of the common courſe of nature. Another particular is his digreſſions without end, which draw our attention from the principal ſubject. I wiſh ſome apology could be made for them. Diomedes *, for inſtance, meeting with Glaucus in the field of battle, and doubting, from his majeſtic air, whether he might not be an immortal, inquires who he was, declaring that he would not fight with

* Book vi.

with a god. Glaucus lays hold of this very ſlight opportunity, in the heat of action, to give a long hiſtory of his family. In the mean time, the reader's patience is put to a trial, and his ardor cools. Agamemnon * deſiring advice how to reſiſt the Trojans, Diomedes ſprings forward; but, before he offers advice, gives the hiſtory of all his progenitors, and of their characters, in a long train. And, after all, what was the ſage advice that required ſuch a preface? It was, that Agamemnon ſhould exhort the Greeks to fight bravely. At any rate, was Diomedes ſo little known, as to make it proper to ſuſpend the action at ſo critical a juncture for a genealogical hiſtory? A third particular, is an endleſs number of minute circumſtances, eſpecially in the deſcription of battles, where they are the leaſt tolerable. One capital beauty of an epic poem, is the ſelection of ſuch incidents and circumſtances as make a deep impreſſion, keeping out of view every thing low or familiar † An account of a ſingle battle employs the whole fifth book of the Iliad, and a great part of the ſixth: yet in the whole there is no general action; but warriors, whom we never heard of before, killed at a diſtance with an arrow or a javelin; and every wound deſcribed with anatomical accuracy. The whole ſeventeenth book is employed in the conteſt about the dead body of Patroclus,

* Book xiv.

† Elements of Criticiſm, vol. i. p. 232. edit. 5.

troclus, ſtuffed with minute circumſtances below the dignity of an epic poem: the reader fatigued, has nothing to relieve him but the melody of Homer's verſification. Gratitude would prompt an apology for an author who affords ſo much entertainment: Homer had no good models to copy after; and, without good models, we cannot expect maturity of judgment. In a word, Homer was a blazing ſtar, and the more to be admired, becauſe he blazed in an obſcure age. But that he ſhould, in no degree, be tainted with the imperfections of ſuch an age, is a wild thought: it is ſcarce poſſible, but by ſuppoſing him to be more than man.

Particular cauſes that advance the progreſs of fine arts, as well as of uſeful arts, are mentioned in the firſt part of this Sketch, and to theſe I refer.

HAVING traced the progreſs of the fine arts toward maturity in a ſummary way, the decline of theſe arts comes next in order. A uſeful art ſeldom turns retrograde, becauſe every one has an intereſt to preſerve it in perfection. Fine arts depend on more ſlender principles than thoſe of utility; and therefore the judgment formed of them is more fluctuating. The variety of form that is admitted into the fine arts by ſuch fluctuation of judgment, excites artiſts to indulge their love of novelty. Reſtleſs man knows no golden mean, but will be attempting innovations without end. Such innovations

innovations do well in an art diſtant from perfection: but they are commonly the cauſe of degeneracy in arts that are in perfection: for an artiſt ambitious to excel, aims always to be an original, and cannot ſubmit to be an imitator. This is the plain meaning of a florid paſſage of Velleius Paterculus (Roman Hiſtory, lib. 1.) "Naturaque, quod ſummo ſtudio petitum eſt, "aſcendit in ſummum; difficilisque in perfecto "mora eſt; naturaliterque, quod procedere non "poteſt, recedit." Which may paſs in a learned language, but will never do in our own tongue. "The idea," ſays Winchleman, of "beauty could not be made more perfect; and "thoſe arts that cannot advance farther, become "retrograde, by a fatality attending all human "things, that if they cannot mount, they muſt "fall down, becauſe ſtability is not a quality of "any created thing." I ſhall endeavour to illuſtrate the cauſe aſſigned by me above for decline of the fine arts, beginning with architecture. The Ionic was the favourite order when architecture was in its height of glory. The Corinthian order came next; which, in attempting greater perfection, has deviated from the true ſimplicity of nature: and the deviation is ſtill greater in the Compoſite order *.

With reſpect to literary productions, the firſt eſſays of the Romans were very imperfect. We may

* Elements of Criticiſm, vol. i. p. 206. edit. 5.

chief part. To have melody and harmony both in perfection, they can never be united in the ſame piece. The heart, ſwoln by a melancholy ſtrain, is regardleſs of harmony; and, when ſubdued by a delightful ſtrain of whatever kind, it has no leiſure for complicated harmony. Rich harmony, on the other hand engroſſing the whole attention, leaves the heart in a meaſure vacant *. The Greeks excelled in melody: the moderns excel in harmony. A juſt compariſon between theſe, with reſpect to their effects on the hearer, will give inſtruction, and perhaps may enable us to determine whether muſic be or be not on the decline.

Nature, kindly to its favourite man, has furniſhed him with five external ſenſes, not only for ſupporting animal life, but for procuring to him variety of enjoyments. A towering hill as an object of ſight, a bluſhing roſe as an object of ſmell, a pine-apple as an object of taſte, a fine fur as an object of touch, do every one of them produce a pleaſant feeling. With reſpect to the ſenſe of hearing in particular, certain ſounds heard at the ſame inſtant raiſe a pleaſant feeling; and certain ſounds heard in ſucceſſion raiſe another pleaſant feeling; the former termed *harmony*, the latter *melody*.

* Corelli excells in combining harmony with melody. His melody could not be richer without impoveriſhing his harmony; nor his harmony richer without impoveriſhing his melody.

lody. Harmony, like the pleafure of tafting or of fmelling, affects us at the organ of fenfe only, and ceafes when its object is removed. But melody is not confined to the organ of fenfe: it pierces to the heart, and produces different emotions, according to the nature of the modulation. An emotion fo raifed, fuch as that of gaiety, of melancholy, of pity, of courage, of benevolence, fubfifts after the mufic ceafes, and even fwells into a paffion where it meets with a proper object. An air, fweet and melting, raifes an emotion in the tone of love, and readily is elevated to the paffion of love on the fight of a beautiful object. An air, flow and plaintive, produces an emotion in the tone of pity or grief, which, on the appearance of a perfon in diftrefs, becomes a paffion. A lively and animating ftrain produces an emotion of courage: the hearer exalted to a hero, longs for an opportunity to exert his prowefs.

Spumantemque dari, pecora inter inertia, votis
Optat aprum, aut fulvum defcendere monte leonem.

Can harmony produce an effect in any degree fimilar? The greateft admirer of harmony will not affirm that it can. The emotion raifed by harmony has no affinity to paffion or fentiment, more than the fmell of a tuberofe, or the tafte of an ortolan; and it vanifhes inftantaneoufly with the concordant founds that produced it.

Hence it may fairly be concluded, that, as far as melody is fuperior to harmony, as far was Greek

 mufic

muſic ſuperior to the generality of what is now in practice. Exceptions there are undoubtedly that rival whatever could be performed by the ancients: but they are not many in number: the talent of compoſing muſic in the tone of a paſſion, ſeems in a great meaſure to lie dormant. The Italian opera reſembles in form the Greek tragedy, from which evidently it is copied, but very little in ſubſtance. In the latter, the dialogue maintains its ſuperior ſtation; and muſic, confined to its proper place, has the ſtrongeſt effect that muſic can produce. In the former, muſic uſurping the ſuperior ſtation, commands attention by a ſtorm of ſound, leaving the dialogue languid and unintereſting. This unnatural diſjunction of ſound from ſenſe, has introduced a ſort of baſtard muſic, termed *recitative*. Suffering the words to paſs, though abundantly flat and languid *, I object to the execution, an unnatural movement between pronouncing and ſinging, that cannot be agreeable but to thoſe who have been long accuſtomed to it. Of one thing I am certain, that graceful pronunciation, whether in the calm narrative tone, or in the warm tone of paſſion, is far more pleaſant. What puts the preference of the Greek model far beyond a doubt, is, that the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were for a long courſe of time the delight of the moſt refined nation that ever exiſted: an Italian opera, on the

* No perſon will ſuſpect that under this cenſure is comprehended the celebrated Metaſtaſio.

the contrary, never runs above a ſeaſon; and, after being once laid aſide, is never revived. But this ſlight and ſuperficial taſte for harmony above melody, cannot be laſting: nature may be wreſted, but ſoon or late reſumes its empire. Sentimental muſic will be ſeriouſly cultivated, and reſtored to the place in the theatre it anciently poſſeſſed with dignity and propriety. Then it is that we may hope to rival the Greeks in muſic as in other arts. Upon the whole, muſic undoubtedly is much improved with reſpect to its theory; but, with reſpect to the practical part, there appears as little doubt of a woful degeneracy.

I lay hold of this opportunity to add a ſhort article concerning the hiſtory of muſic, which regard to my native country will not ſuffer me to omit. We have in Scotland a mulitude of ſongs tender and pathetic, expreſſive of love in its varieties, of hope, fear, ſucceſs, deſpondence, and deſpair. The ſtyle of the muſic is wild and irregular, extremely pleaſing to the natives, but little reliſhed by the bulk of thoſe who are accuſtomed to the regularity of the Italian ſtyle. None but men of genius, who follow nature and break looſe from the thraldom of cuſtom, eſteem that muſic. It was a favourite of the late Geminiani, whoſe compoſitions ſhow delicacy of taſte equal to the ſuperiority of his genius; and it is warmly praiſed by Aleſſandro Taſſoni, the celebrated author of Secchia Rapita. Diſcourſing of ancient and modern muſic, and quoting from vari-

ous authors the wonderful effects produced by ſome modern compoſitions, he ſubjoins the following paſſage: "Noi ancora poſſiamo connumerar "trà noſtri, Iacopo Rè de Scozia, che non pur coſe "ſacre compoſe in tanto, ma trovò da ſeſteſſo una "nuovo muſica lamentevole e meſta, differente da "tutte l'atre. Nel che poi è ſtato imitato da Car-"lo Geſualdo Principe di Venoſa, che in queſta "noſtra età ha illuſtrata anch' egli la muſica con "nuova mirabili invenzioni *." The king mentioned muſt be James I. of Scotland, the only one of our kings who ſeems to have had any remarkable taſte in the fine arts; and the muſic can be no other than the ſongs mentioned above. Theſe are commonly attributed to David Rizzio, becauſe he was an Italian and a muſician; but erroneouſly, as we now diſcover from Taſſoni. Our James I. was eminent for poetry no leſs than for muſic. He is praiſed for the former by Biſhop Leſlie, one of our hiſtorians, in the following words: "Patrii carminis gloria nulli ſecundus." We have many poems aſcribed by tradition to that king; one in particular,

* "We may reckon among the compoſers of the moderns "James, King of Scotland, who not only compoſed ſacred "ſongs, but was himſelf the inventor of a new ſtyle of muſic, "plaintive and pathetic, different from all others. In this "manner of compoſition, he has been imitated in our times "by Carlo Geſualdo, Prince of Venoſa, who has illuſtrated "that ſtyle of muſic with new and wonderful invention."—Penſieri diverſi, lib. 10. cap. 23.

particular, *Christ's kirk on the green*, is a ludicrous poem, deſcribing low manners with no leſs propriety than ſprightlineſs.

Another cauſe that precipitates the downfal of every fine art, is deſpotiſm. The reaſon is obvious; and there was a diſmal example of it in Rome, particularly with regard to eloquence. We learn from a dialogue accounting for the corruption of the Roman eloquence, that, in the decline of the art, it became faſhionable to ſtuff harangues with impertinent poetical quotations, without any view but ornament merely; and this alſo was long faſhionable in France. It happened unluckily for the Romans, and for the world, that the fine arts were at their height in Rome, and not much upon the decline in Greece, when deſpotiſm put an end to the republic. Auguſtus, it is true, retarded their fall, particularly that of literature; it being the policy of his reign to hide deſpotiſm, and to give his government an air of freedom. His court was a ſchool of urbanity, where people of genius acquired that delicacy of taſte, that elevation of ſentiment, and that purity of expreſſion, which characterize the writers of his time. He honoured men of learning, admitted them to his table, and was bountiful to them. It would be painful to follow the decline of the fine arts in Rome to their total extirpation. The tyranny of Tiberius and of ſubſequent emperors, broke at laſt the elevated and independent ſpirit of the brave Romans, reduced

them to abject ſlavery, and left not a ſpark of genius *. The ſcience of law is the only exception, as it flouriſhed even in the worſt of times: the Roman lawyers were a reſpectable body, and leſs the object of jealouſy than men of power and extenſive land property. Among the Greeks alſo, a conquered people, the fine arts decayed, but not ſo rapidly as at Rome; the Greeks, farther removed from the ſeat of government, were leſs within the reach of a Roman tyrant. During their depreſſion, they were guilty of the moſt puerile conceits; witneſs verſes compoſed in the form of an axe, an egg, wings, and ſuch like. The ſtyle of Greek writers in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian,

* A ſingular perſecution was carried on by Pope Gregory, moſt improperly ſurnamed the Great, againſt the works of Cicero, Titus Livius, and Cornelius Tacitus, which in every corner of Chriſtendom were publicy burnt; and from that time, there has not been ſeen a complete copy of any of theſe authors. This happened in the ſixth century: ſo ſoon had the Romans fallen from the perfection of taſte and knowledge to the moſt humbling barbarity. Nor was that the only perſecution of books on the ſcore of religion. Many centuries before, a ſimilar inſtance happened in China, directed by a fooliſh emperor. The Alexandrian Library was twice conſumed by fire, once in the time of Julius Cæſar, and once in the time of the Calif Omar. What a profuſion of knowledge was loſt paſt redemption! And yet, upon the whole, it ſeems doubtful, whether the moderns have ſuffered by theſe events. At what corner of a library ſhall a man begin where he ſees an infinity of books, choice ones too? He will turn his back to the library, and begin at no corner.

drian, is unequal, obſcure, ſtiff, and affected. Lucian is the only exception I am acquainted with.

We need ſcarce look for any other cauſe but deſpotiſm, to account for the decline of ſtatuary and painting in Greece. Theſe arts had arrived at their utmoſt perfection about the time of Alexander the Great: from that time they declined gradually along with the vigour of a free people; for Greece was now enſlaved by the Macedonian power. It may in general be obſerved, that when a nation becomes ſtationary in that degree of power and eminence which it acquires from its conſtitution and ſituation, the national ſpirit ſubſides, and men of talents become rare. It is ſtill worſe with a nation that is ſunk below its former power and eminence; and worſt of all when it is reduced to ſlavery. Other cauſes concurred to accelerate the downfal of the arts mentioned. Greece, in the days of Alexander, was filled with ſtatues of excellent workmanſhip; and there being little demand for more, the later ſtatuaries were reduced to heads and buſts. At laſt the Romans put a total end both to ſtatuary and painting in Greece, by plundering it of its fineſt pieces; and the Greeks, expoſed to the avarice of the conquerors, beſtowed no longer any money on the fine arts.

The decline of the fine arts in Rome, is by a writer of taſte and elegance aſcribed to a cauſe different from any above mentioned, a cauſe equally deſtructive to manhood and to the fine arts; and that

is opulence, joined with its conſtant attendants avarice and luxury. It would be doing injuſtice to that author to quote him in any words but his own. " Priſcis temporibus, quum adhuc nudà " virtus placeret, vigebant artes ingenuæ; ſummumque certamen inter homines erat, ne quid " profuturum ſeculis diu lateret. Itaque, Hercules! omnium herbarum ſuccos Democritus expreſſit: et ne lapidum virgultorumque vis lateret, ætatem inter experimenta conſumpſit. Eudoxus quidem in cacumine excelſiſſimi montis " conſenuit, ut aſtrorum cœlique motus deprehenderet: et Chryſippus, ut ad inventionem ſufficiret, ter helleboro animum deterſit. Verum ut " ad plaſtas convertar, Lyſippum ſtatuæ unius " lineamentis inhærentem inopia extinxit: et " Myron, qui penè hominum animas ferarumque " ære comprehenderat, non invenit hæredem. At " nos, vino ſcortisque, demerſi, ne paratas quidem " artes audemus cognoſcere; ſed accuſatores antiquitatis, vitia tantùm docemus, et diſcimus. " Ubi eſt dialectica? ubi aſtronomia? ubi ſapientiæ conſultiſſima via? Quis unquam venit in " templum, et votum fecit ſi ad eloquentiam perveniſſet? quis, ſi philoſophiæ fontem inveniſſet? " Ac ne bonam quidem mentem, aut bonam valetudinem, petunt; ſed ſtatim, antequam limen " capitolii tangunt, alius donum promittit ſi propinquum divitem extulerit; alius, ſi theſaurum " effoderit; alius, ſi ad trecenties H—S. ſalvus

" pervenerit,

" pervenerit. Ipſe ſenatus, recti bonique præcep-
" tor, mille pondo auri capitolio promittere ſolet:
" et ne quis dubitet pecuniam concupiſcere, Jovem
" quoque peculio exorat. Nolito ergo mirari, ſi
" pictura defecit, quum omnibus diis hominibusque
" formoſior videatur maſſa auri, quàm quidquid
" Apelles Phidiasve fecerunt *." In England, the

* " In ancient times, when naked virtue had her admirers,
" the liberal arts were in their higheſt vigour; and there was
" a generous conteſt among men, that nothing of real and
" permanent advantage ſhould long remain undiſcovered.
" Democritus extracted the juice of every herb and plant;
" and, leſt the virtue of a ſingle ſtone or twig ſhould eſcape
" him, he conſumed a lifetime in experiments. Eudoxus, im-
" merſed in the ſtudy of aſtronomy, ſpent his age upon the
" top of a mountain. Chryſippus, to ſtimulate his inventive
" faculty, thrice purified his genius with hellebore. To turn
" to the imitative arts: Lyſippus, while labouring on the
" forms of a ſingle ſtatue periſhed from want. Myron, whoſe
" powerful hand gave to the braſs almoſt the ſoul of man, and
" animals,—at his death found not an heir! Of us of modern
" times what ſhall we ſay? Immerſed in drunkenneſs and de-
" bauchery, we want the ſpirit to cultivate thoſe arts which
" we poſſeſs. We inveigh againſt the manners of antiquity;
" we ſtudy vice alone; and vice is all we teach. Where now
" is the art of reaſoning? where aſtronomy? where is the
" right path of wiſdom? What man now-a-days is heard in
" our temples to make a vow for the attainment of eloquence,
" or for the diſcovery of the fountain of true philoſophy? Nor
" do we even pray for health of body, or a ſound underſtand-
" ing. One, while he has ſcarce entered the porch of the
" temple, devotes a gift in the event of the death of a rich re-
" lation;

ned in vigour. But the chief cause was the despotism of the Roman government, which proved the destruction of the fine arts, and of literature in particular. In a country of so many different languages, the Latin tongue could not be preserved in purity, but by constant perusal of Roman classics: but these were left to rot in libraries, a dark cloud of ignorance having overspread the whole empire. Every person carelessly spoke the language acquired in the nursery; and people of different tongues being mixed under one government, without a common standard, fell gradually into a sort of mixed language, which every one made a shift to understand. The irruption of many barbarous nations into Italy, several of whom settled there, added to the jargon. And that jargon, composed of many heterogeneous parts, was in process of time purified to the tongue that is now native to all the inhabitants of Italy.

In a history of the Latin tongue, it ought not to be overlooked, that it continued long in purity among the Roman lawyers. The science of law was in Rome more cultivated than in any other country. The books written upon that science in Latin were numerous; and, being highly regarded, were the constant study of every man who aspired to be an eminent lawyer. Neither could such men have any bias to the Greek tongue, as law was little cultivated in Greece. Thus it happened, that the Latin tongue, as far as concerns law,

law, was preſerved in purity, even to the time of the Emperor Juſtinian.

Greek was preſerved in purity much longer than Latin. The ſame language was ſpoken through all Greece, with ſome ſlight varieties in dialect. It was brought to great perfection and firmly rooted during the proſperous days of Greece. Its claſſics were numerous, and were ſtudied by every perſon who pretended to literature *. Now, though the free and manly ſpirit of the Greeks yielded to Roman deſpotiſm, yet while any appetite for literature remained, their invaluable claſſics were a ſtandard, which preſerved the language in purity. But ignorance at length became univerſal; and the Greek claſſics ceaſed to be a ſtandard, being buried in libraries, as the Roman claſſics had been for centuries. In that ſtate, the Greek tongue could not fail to degenerate among an ignorant and ſervile people, who had no longer any ambition to act well, write well, or ſpeak well. And yet, after all, that beautiful tongue, far beyond a rival, has ſuffered leſs alteration than any other ever did in ſimilar circumſtances; one cauſe of which is, that to this day the Greeks live ſeparate from their maſters the Turks, and have little commerce with them.

From the fate of the Latin tongue, an obſervation is drawn by many writers, that all languages are

* There ſtill remain about three thouſand Greek books; of Latin books not above ſixty.

are in a continual flux, changing from age to age without end. And ſuch as are fond of fame, deplore it as a heavy misfortune, that the language in which they write will ſoon become obſolete and unintelligible. But it is a common error in reaſoning, to found a general concluſion upon a ſingle fact. In its progreſs toward perfection, a language is continually improving, and therefore continually changing. But ſuppoſing a language to have acquired its utmoſt perfection, I ſee nothing that ſhould neceſſarily occaſion any change: on the contrary, the claſſical books in that language become a ſtandard for writing and ſpeaking, to which every man of taſte and figure conforms himſelf. Such was the caſe of the Greek tongue, till the Greeks were brutified by deſpotiſm. The Italian has continued in perfection more than three centuries, and the French more than one. The Arabic has continued without change more than a thouſand years: there is no book in that language held to be in a ſtyle more pure or perfect than the Koran *. The Engliſh language has not yet acquired all the purity

* I am far from thinking that the language of the Arabians, an illiterate people in the days of their prophet Mahomet, was at that time carried to ſuch purity and perfection, as not to be ſuſceptible of improvement. The fixing that language was undoubtedly owing to the Koran, which was held the word of God delivered to Mahomet by the angel Gabriel, and conſequently was piouſly judged to be the ſtandard of perfection.

purity it is ſuſceptible of; but, when there is no place for further improvements, there ſeems little doubt of its becoming ſtationary, like the languages mentioned. I bar always ſuch a revolution as eradicates knowledge, and reduces a people to a ſtate of barbarity. In an event ſo diſmal, the deſtruction of claſſical books and of a pure language, is not the greateſt calamity: they will be little regretted in the univerſal wreck. In the mean time, to a writer of genius in a poliſhed nation, it cannot but be a charming proſpect, that his works will ſtand and fall with his country. To make ſuch a writer exert his talents for purifying his mother-tongue, and for adding to the number and reputation of its claſſics, what nobler excitement, than the certainty of being tranſmitted to poſterity, and admired by every perſon of taſte through all ages!

As before the invention of printing, writers could have nothing in view but reputation and praiſe, they endeavoured to give the utmoſt perfection to their compoſitions. They at the ſame time ſtudied brevity, in order that their works might paſs through many hands; for the expence of tranſcribing great volumes, could not be afforded by every reader. The art of printing has made a great revolution: the opportunity it furniſhes to multiply copies, has degraded writing to be a lucrative employment. Authors now ſtudy to ſwell their works, in order to raiſe the price; and being in a hurry for money, they reject the precept of

Horace, *Nonum prematur in annum.* Take for example the Natural History of Aldrovandus, in many folio volumes. After filling his common-place book with paſſages from every author ancient and modern, to the purpoſe and not to the purpoſe; he ſits down to compoſe, bent to transfuſe into his book every article thus painfully collected. For example, when he introduces the ox, the cock, or any other animal; far from confining himſelf to its natural hiſtory, he omits nothing that has been ſaid of it in books where it has been occaſionally introduced, not even excepting tales for amuſing children: he mentions all the ſuperſtitious notions concerning it, every poetical compariſon drawn from it, the uſe it has ſerved in hieroglyphics and in coats-armorial; in a word, all the hiſtories and all the fables in which it has been named. Take another inſtance from a German or Dutch chronologer, whoſe name has eſcaped me, and which I give in a tranſlation from the Latin, to prevent the bias that one has for a learned language. "Samſon was the ſame with the Theban "Hercules; which appears from the actions attri-"buted to each of them, eſpecially from the fol-"lowing, That Hercules, unarmed, is ſaid to have "ſuffocated the Nemean lion with a ſqueeze of his "arms: Samſon, unarmed, did the ſame, by tear-"ing a lion to pieces; and Joſephus ſays, that he "did not tear the lion, but put out his breath with "a ſqueeze; which could be done, and was done

"by

" by Scutilius the wreſtler, as reported by Suidas. " David alſo, unarmed, tore to pieces a lion, 1 Sa- " muel, chap. 17.; and Benaiah the ſon of Jehoiada " alſo ſlew a lion, 2 Sam. chap. 23. ver. 20. More- " over we read, that Samſon having caught three " hundred foxes, tied lighted firebrands to their " tails, and drove them into the ſtanding corn of " the Philiſtines, by which both the ſhocks and " ſtanding corn, with the vineyards and olives, " were burnt up. Many think it incredible, that " three hundred foxes ſhould be caught by one " man; as the fox, being the moſt cunning of all " animals, would not ſuffer itſelf to be eaſily ta- " ken. Accordingly Oppian, a Greek poet who " writes upon hunting, aſſerts, that no fox will ſuf- " fer itſelf to be taken in a gin or a net; though " we are taught the contrary by Martial, lib. 10. " epig. 37.

" *Hic olidum clamoſus ages in retia vulpem.*

" In India, eagles, hawks, and ravens, are taught " to hunt foxes, as we are informed by Olianus, " Var. hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 26. They are alſo caught " by traps and ſnares, and in covered pits, as " wolves are, and other large animals. Nor is it " wonderful that ſuch a multitude of foxes were " caught by Samſon, conſidering that Paleſtine " abounded with foxes. He had hunters without " number at command; and he was not confined " in time. The fame of that exploit was ſpread

" far and near. Even among the Romans there " were veſtiges of it, as appears from Ovid, Faſt. " lib. 9. ver. 681. In one Roman feſtival, armed " foxes were let looſe in the circus; which Ovid, " in the place quoted, ſays was done in memory " of the Carſiolan fox, which, having deſtroyed " many hens belonging to a country woman, was " caught by her, and puniſhed as follows. She " wrapped up the fox in hay, which ſhe ſet fire to; " and the fox being let go, fled through the ſtand- " ing corn, and ſet it on fire. There can be no " doubt but that this feſtival was a veſtige of Sam- " ſon's foxes, not only from congruity of circum- " ſtances, but from the time of celebration, which " was the month of April, the time of harveſt in " Paleſtine. See more about foxes in Burman's " works." Not to mention the ridiculous arguments of this writer to prove Samſon to be the ſame with the Theban Hercules, nor the childiſh wanderings from that ſubject; he has totally overlooked the chief difficulties. However well fixed the fire-brands might be, it is not eaſily conceivable, that the foxes, who would naturally fly to their lurking-holes, could much injure the corn, or the olive-trees. And it is as little conceivable, what ſhould have moved Samſon to employ foxes, when, by our author's ſuppoſition, he had men at command, much better qualified than foxes for committing waſte. This author would have ſaved himſelf much idle labour, had he embraced a very

probable

probable opinion, that, if the tranſlation be not erroneous, the original text muſt be corrupted. But enough, and more than enough, of theſe writers. Maturity of taſte has baniſhed ſuch abſurdities; and at preſent, happily, books are leſs bulky, and more to the purpoſe than formerly.

It is obſerved above *, that in a country thinly peopled, where the ſame perſon muſt for bread undertake different employments, the people are knowing and converſable; but ſtupid and ignorant in a populous country where induſtry and manufactures abound. That obſervation holds not with reſpect to the fine arts. It requires ſo much genius to copy even a ſingle figure, whether in painting or in ſculpture, as to prevent the operator from degenerating into a brute. The great exertion of genius, as well as of invention, required in grouping figures, and in imitating human actions, tends to invigorate theſe faculties, with reſpect to every ſubject, and of courſe to form a man of parts.

* Firſt ſection of the preſent Sketch.

SKETCH V.

MANNERS.

SOME perſons have a peculiar air, a peculiar manner of ſpeaking or of acting, which, in oppoſition to the manners of the generality, are termed *their manners*. Such peculiarities in a whole nation, by which it differs from other nations or from itſelf at different periods, are termed *the manners of that nation*. Manners therefore ſignify a mode of behaviour peculiar to a certain perſon, or to a certain nation. The term is not applied to mankind in general; except perhaps in contradiſtinction to other beings.

Manners are diſtinguiſhed from morals; but in what reſpect has not been clearly ſtated. Do not the ſame actions come under both; Certainly; but in different refpects; an action conſidered as right or wrong, belongs to morals; conſidered as peculiar to a perſon or to a people, it belongs to manners.

The intention of the preſent ſketch is, to trace out ſuch manners only as appear to proceed immediately

diately from the nature and character of a people, whether influenced by the form of government, or depending on the degree of civilization. I am far from regretting, that manners produced by climate, by ſoil, and by other permanent cauſes, fall not under my plan: I ſhould indeed make a ſorry figure upon a ſubject that has been acutely diſcuſſed by the greateſt genius of the preſent age *.

I begin with external appearance, being the firſt thing that draws attention. The human countenance and geſtures have a greater variety of expreſſions than thoſe of any other animal: and ſome perſons differ widely from the generality in theſe expreſſions, ſo as to be known by their manner of walking, or even by ſo ſlight an action as that of putting on or taking off a hat: ſome men are known even by the ſound of their feet in walking. Whole nations are diſtinguiſhable by ſuch peculiarities. And yet there is leſs variety in looks and geſtures, than the different tones of mind would produce, were men left to the impulſes of pure nature: man, an imitative animal, is prone to copy others; and by imitation, external behaviour is nearly uniform among thoſe who ſtudy to be agreeable; witneſs people of faſhion in France. I reſt upon theſe outlines: to enter fully into the ſubject would be an endleſs work; diſproportioned at any rate to the narrowneſs of my plan.

* Monteſquieu.

Dreſs muſt not be omitted, becauſe it enters alſo into external appearance. Providence hath clothed all animals that are unable to clothe themſelves. Man can clothe himſelf; and he is endowed beſide with an appetite for dreſs, no leſs natural than an appetite for food. That appetite is proportioned in degree to its uſe: in cold climates it is vigorous; in hot climates, faint. Savages muſt go naked till they learn to cover themſelves; and they ſoon learn where covering is neceſſary. The Patagonians, who go naked in a bitter-cold climate, muſt be wofully ſtupid. And the Picts, a Scotch tribe, who, it is ſaid, continued naked down to the time of Severus, did not probably much ſurpaſs the Patagonians in the talent of invention.

Modeſty is another cauſe for clothing: few ſavages expoſe the whole of the body. It gives no high idea of Grecian modeſty, that at the Olympic games people wreſtled and run races ſtark naked.

There is a third cauſe for clothing, which is, the pleaſure it affords. A fine woman, ſeen naked once in her life, is made a deſirable object by novelty. But let her go naked for a month, how much more charming will ſhe appear, when dreſſed with propriety and elegance! Clothing is ſo eſſential to health, that to be leſs agreeable than nakedneſs would argue an incongruity in our nature. Savages probably at firſt thought of clothing

thing as a protection only against the weather; but they soon discovered a beauty in dress: men led the way, and women followed. Such savages as go naked paint their bodies, excited by the same fondness for ornament that our women shew in their party-coloured garments. Among the Jews, the men wore ear-rings as well as the women *. When Media was governed by its own kings, the men were sumptuous in dress: they wore loose robes, floating in the air; had long hair covered with a rich bonnet, bracelets, chains of gold, and precious stones: they painted their faces, and mixed artificial hair with that of nature. As authors are silent about the women, they probably made no figure in that kingdom, being shut up, as at present, in seraglios. In the days of Socrates, married women in Greece were confined to be household drudges merely. Xenophon in his *Memorabilia Socratis*, introduces Isomachus, an Athenian of great riches and reputation, discoursing to Socrates of his family affairs, "that he told his "wife that his main object in marrying her was to "have a person in whose discretion he could con-"fide, who would take proper care of his servants, "and lay out his money with economy;" that one day he observed her face painted, and with high-heeled shoes; that he chid her severely for such follies, "could she imagine to pass such silly "tricks on a husband? If she wanted to have a "better

* Exod. xxxii. 2.

" better complexion, why not weave at her loom " ſtanding upright, why not employ herſelf in " baking and other family exerciſes, which would " give her ſuch a bloom as no paint could imi- " tate?" But when the Athenian manners came to be more poliſhed, greater indulgence was given to the ladies in dreſs and ornament. They conſumed the whole morning at the toilette; employing paint, and every drug for cleaning and whitening the ſkin: they laid red even upon their lips, and took great care of their teeth; their hair, made up in buckles with a hot iron, was perfumed and ſpread upon the ſhoulders: their dreſs was elegant, and artfully contrived to ſet off a fine ſhape. Such is the influence of appetite for dreſs: vanity could not be the ſole motive, as married ladies were never ſeen in public *. We learn from St Gregory, that women in his time dreſſed the head extremely high, environing it with many treſſes of falſe hair, diſpoſed in knots and buckles, ſo as to reſemble a regular fortification. Joſephus reports, that the Jewiſh ladies powdered their hair with gold duſt; a faſhion that was carried from Aſia to Rome. The firſt writer who mentions white powder for the hair, the ſame we uſe at preſent, is L'Etoile, in his journal

* Young women in Athens appeared frequently in public, but always by themſelves. In feſtivals, ſacrifices, &c. they made part of the ſhow, crowned with flowers, chanting hymns and dancing in knots.

journal for the year 1593. He relates, that nuns walked the ſtreets of Paris curled and powdered. That faſhion ſpread by degrees through Europe. For many years after the civil wars in France, it was a faſhion in Paris to wear boots and ſpurs, with a long ſword: a gentleman was not in full dreſs without theſe accoutrements. The ſword continues an article of dreſs, though it diſtinguiſhes not a gentleman from his valet. To ſhow that a taſte for dreſs and ornament is deeply rooted in human nature, ſavages diſplay that taſte upon the body, having no covering to diſplay it upon. Seldom is a child of a ſavage left to nature: it is deprived of a teſticle, a finger, a tooth; or its ſkin is engraved with figures.

Clothing hath no ſlight influence, even with reſpect to morals. I venture to affirm, at the hazard of being thought paradoxical, that nakedneſs is more friendly to chaſtity than covering. Adultery is unknown among ſavages, even in hot climates where they have ſcarce any covering. Dreſs gives play to the imagination, which pictures to itſelf many ſecret beauties which vaniſh when rendered familiar by ſight: if a lady accidentally diſcover half a leg, imagination is inſtantly inflamed; though an actreſs appearing in breeches is beheld with indifference: a naked Venus makes not ſuch an impreſſion as when a garter only is diſcovered.

Cleanneſs is an article in external appearance. Whether cleanlineſs be inherent in the nature of man,

man, or only a refinement of polifhed nations, may at firft appear doubtful. What pleads for the former is, that cleannefs is remarkable in feveral nations which have made little progrefs in the arts of life. The favages of the Caribbee iflands, once a numerous tribe, were remarked by writers as neat and cleanly. In the ifland Otaheité, or King George's ifland, both fexes are cleanly: they bathe frequently, never eat nor drink without wafhing before and after, and their garments, as well as their perfons, are kept free of fpot or blemifh. Ammianus Marcellinus, defcribing the Gauls, fays, that they were cleanly; and that even the pooreft women were never feen with dirty garments. The Negroes, particularly thofe of Ardrah in the flave-coaft, have a fcrupulous regard to cleannefs. They wafh morning and evening, and perfume themfelves with aromatic herbs. In the city of Benin, women are employed to keep the ftreets clean; and in that refpect they are not undone by the Dutch. In Corea, people mourn three years for the death of their parents; during which time they never wafh. Dirtinefs muft appear difmal to that people, as to us*. But inftances are no lefs numerous that favour the other fide of the queftion. Ammianus Marcellinus reports of the Huns,

* Many animals are remarkable for cleannefs. Beavers are fo, and fo are cats. This muft be natural. Though a tafte for cleannefs is not remarkable in dogs, yet, like men, they learn to be cleanly.

Huns, that they wore a coat till it fell to pieces with dirt and rottenneſs. Plan Carpin, who viſited the Tartars *anno* 1246, ſays, "That they "never waſh face nor hands; that they never "clean a diſh, a pot, nor a garment; that, like "ſwine, they make food of every thing, not "excepting the vermin that crawl on them." The preſent people of Kamſkatka anſwer to that deſcription in every article. The naſtineſs of North-American ſavages, in their food, in their cabins, and in their garments, paſſes all conception. As they never change their garments till they fall to rags, nor ever think of waſhing them, they are eat up with vermin. The Eſquimaux, and many other tribes, are equally naſty.

As cleanneſs requires attention and induſtry, the cleanneſs of ſome ſavages muſt be the work of nature, and the dirtineſs of others muſt proceed from indolence counteracting nature. In fact, cleanneſs is agreeable to all, and naſtineſs diſagreeable: no perſon prefers dirt; and even thoſe who are the moſt accuſtomed to it are pleaſed with a cleanly appearance in others. It is true, that a taſte for cleanneſs, like that for order, for ſymmetry, for congruity, is extremely faint during its infancy among ſavages. Its ſtrongeſt antagoniſt is indolence, which ſavages indulge to exceſs: the great fatigue they undergo in hunting, makes them fond of eaſe at home; and dirtineſs, when once habitual, is not eaſily conquered. But cleanneſs improves

proves gradually with manners, and makes a figure in every induſtrious nation. Nor is a taſte for cleanneſs beſtowed on man in vain: its final cauſe is conſpicuous, cleanneſs being extremely wholeſome, and naſtineſs no leſs unwholeſome *.

Thus

* The plague, peſtilential fevers, and other putrid diſeaſes, were more frequent in Europe formerly than at preſent, eſpecially in great cities, where multitudes were crowded together in ſmall houſes, ſeparated by narrow ſtreets. Paris, in the days of Henry IV. occupied not the third part of its preſent ſpace, and yet contained nearly the ſame number of inhabitants; and in London the houſes are much larger, and the ſtreets wider than before the great fire 1666. There is alſo a remarkable alteration in point of diet. Formerly, people of rank lived on ſalt meat the greater part of the year: at preſent, freſh meat is common all the year round. Pot-herbs and roots are now a conſiderable article of food: about London, in particular, the conſumption at the Revolution was not the ſixth part of what it is now. Add the great conſumption of tea and ſugar, which I am told by phyſicians to be no inconſiderable antiſeptics. But the chief cauſe of all is cleanneſs, which is growing more and more general, eſpecially in the city of London. In Conſtantinople, putrid diſeaſes reign as much as ever; not from unhealthineſs in the climate, but from the narrowneſs and naſtineſs of the ſtreets. How it comes that Turkiſh camps differ ſo much from the metropolis, I cannot ſay. Buſbequius viſited a Turkiſh camp in the days of Solyman the Magnificent. The ordure was carefully buried under ground; not any noiſome ſmell; in every corner it was clean and neat. The excrements, which appear every where in our camps when ſtationary, create a ſort of plague among the men. Captain Cook lately made a voyage round

Thus it appears, that a taſte for cleanneſs is inherent in our nature. I ſay more: cleanneſs is evidently a branch of propriety, and conſequently a ſelf-duty. The performance is rewarded with approbation; and the neglect is puniſhed with contempt *.

A taſte for cleanneſs is not equally diſtributed among all men; nor indeed is any branch of the moral ſenſe equally diſtributed: and if, by nature, one perſon be more cleanly than another, a whole nation may be ſo. I judge that to be the caſe of the Japaneſe, ſo finically clean as to find fault even with the Dutch for dirtineſs. Their inns are not an exception; nor their little houſes, in which water is always at hand for waſhing after the operation. I judged it alſo to be the caſe of the Engliſh, who, high and low, rich and poor, are remarkable for cleanneſs all the world over; and I have often amuſed myſelf with ſo ſingular a reſemblance between iſlanders, removed at the greateſt diſtance from each other. But I was forced to abandon the reſemblance, upon a diſcovery that the

round the world, and loſt but a ſingle man by diſeaſe, who at the ſame time was ſickly when he entered the ſhip. One main article that preſerved the health of the crew, was cleanneſs. The Captain regularly one morning every week, reviewed his ſhip's company, to ſee that every one of them had clean linen; and he beſtowed the ſame care with reſpect to their clothes and bedding.

* Elements of Criticiſm, chap. x.

the Engliſh have not always been ſo clean as at preſent. Many centuries ago, as recorded in Monkiſh hiſtory, one cauſe of the averſion the Engliſh had to the Danes was their cleanneſs: they combed their hair, and put on a clean ſhirt once a-week. It was reputed an extraordinary effort in Thomas a Becket, that he had his parlour ſtrewed every day with clean ſtraw. The celebrated Eraſmus, who viſited England in the reign of Henry VIII, complains of the naſtineſs and ſlovenly habits of its people; aſcribing to that cauſe the frequent plagues which infeſted them. "Their floors," ſays he, "are commonly of clay ſtrewed with ruſhes, under which lies unmoleſted a collection of beer, greaſe, fragments, bones, ſpittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and of every thing that is nauſeous*." And the ſtrewing a floor with ſtraw or ruſhes was common in Queen Elizabeth's time, not excepting even her preſence-chamber. A change ſo extraordinary in the taſte and manners of the Engliſh, rouſes our curioſity; and I flatter myſelf that the following cauſe will be ſatisfactory. A ſavage, remarkably indolent at home, though not inſenſible of his dirtineſs, cannot rouſe up activity ſufficient to attempt a ſerious purgation; and would be at a loſs where to begin. The induſtrious, on the contrary, are improved in neatneſs and propriety, by the art or manufacture that conſtantly employs them: they are never reduced to

* Epiſt. 432.

to purge the ſtable of Augeas; for being prone to action, they ſuffer not dirt to reſt unmoleſted. Induſtrious nations, accordingly, all the world over, are the moſt cleanly. Arts and induſtry had long flouriſhed in Holland, where Eraſmus was born and educated: the people were clean above all their neighbours, becauſe they were induſtrious above all their neighbours; and, upon that account, the dirtineſs of England could not fail to ſtrike a Hollander. At the period mentioned, induſtry was as great a ſtranger to England as cleanneſs: from which conſideration, may it not fairly be inferred, that the Engliſh are indebted for their cleanlineſs to the great progreſs of induſtry among them in later times? If this inference hold, it places induſtry in an amiable light. The Spaniards, who are indolent to a degree, are to this day as dirty as the Engliſh were three centuries ago. Madrid, their capital, is nauſeouſly naſty: heaps of unmoleſted dirt in every ſtreet, raiſe in that warm climate a peſtiferous ſteam, which threatens to knock down every ſtranger. A purgation was lately ſet on foot by royal authority. But people habituated to dirt are not eaſily reclaimed: to promote induſtry is the only effectual remedy *. The naſtineſs of the ſtreets of Liſbon before

* Till the year 1760 there was not a privy in Madrid, though it is plentifully ſupplied with water. The ordure, during night, was thrown from the windows into the ſtreet, where

fore the late earthquake, was intolerable; and ſo is at preſent the naſtineſs of the ſtreets of Cadiz.

Though induſtry be the chief promoter of cleanneſs, yet it is ſeldom left to operate alone: other cauſes mix, ſome to accelerate the progreſs, ſome to retard it. The moiſture of the Dutch climate has a conſiderable influence in promoting cleanlineſs; and, joined with induſtry, produces a ſurpriſing neatneſs and cleanneſs among people of buſineſs: men of figure and faſhion, who generally reſort to the Hague, the ſeat of government, are not ſo cleanly. On the other hand, the French are leſs cleanly than the Engliſh, though not leſs induſtrious. But the lower claſſes of people being in England more at their eaſe than in France, have a greater taſte for living well, and in particular for keeping themſelves clean *.

A

where it was gathered into heaps. By a royal proclamation, privies were ordered to be built. The inhabitants, though long accuſtomed to an arbitrary government, reſented this proclamation as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and ſtruggled vigorouſly againſt it. The phyſicians were the moſt violent oppoſers: they remonſtrated, that if the filth was not thrown into the ſtreets, a fatal ſickneſs would enſue; becauſe the putreſcent particles of air, which the filth attracted, would be imbibed by the human body.

* In a country thinly peopled, cleanneſs ſeldom prevails. The incitement is wanting of appearing agreeable to others, and the natural inclination for cleanneſs yields to indolence. In the high country between Derby and Matlock, thinly peopled, the inhabitants are as dirty as in the wildeſt parts of Scotland.

A beard gives to the countenance a rough and fierce air, ſuited to the manners of a rough and fierce people. The ſame face without a beard appears milder; for which reaſon, a beard becomes unfaſhionable in a poliſhed nation. Demoſthenes, the orator, lived in the ſame period with Alexander the Great, at which time the Greeks began to leave off beards. A buſt, however, of that orator, found in Herculaneum, has a beard, which muſt either have been done for him when he was young, or from reluctance in an old man to a new faſhion. Barbers were brought to Rome from Sicily the 454th year after the building of Rome. And it muſt relate to a time after that period what Aulus Gellius ſays*, that people accuſed of any crime, were prohibited to ſhave their beards till they were abſolved. From Hadrian downward, the Roman Emperors wore beards. Julius Capitolinus reproaches the Emperor Verus for cutting his beard at the inſtigation of a concubine. All the Roman generals wore beards in Juſtinian's time†. The Pope ſhaved his beard, which was held a manifeſt apoſtaſy by the Greek church, becauſe Moſes, Jeſus Chriſt, and even God the Father, were always drawn with beards by the Greek and Latin painters. Upon the dawn of ſmooth manners in France, the beaus cut the beard into ſhapes, and curled the whiſkers. That faſhion produced a whimſical ef-

 feſt:

* Lib. iii. cap. 4.

† Procopii Hiſtoria Vandalica, lib. ii.

fect: men of gravity left off beards altogether. A beard in its natural ſhape, was too fierce even for them; and they could not for ſhame copy after the beaus. This accounts for a regulation, *anno* 1534, of the Univerſity of Paris, forbidding the profeſſors to wear a beard.

Language, when brought to any perfection among a poliſhed people, may juſtly be conſidered as one of the fine arts; and, in that view, is handled above. But, conſidered as a branch of external behaviour, it belongs to the preſent ſketch. Every part of external behaviour is influenced by temper and diſpoſition, and ſpeech more than any other part. In Elements of Criticiſm * it is obſerved, that an emotion in many inſtances bears a reſemblance to its cauſe. The like holds univerſally in all the natural ſounds prompted by paſſion. Let a paſſion be bold, rough, cheerful, tender, or humble, ſtill it holds, that the natural ſounds prompted by it, are in the ſame tone: and hence the reaſon why theſe ſounds are the ſame in all languages. Some ſlight reſemblance of the ſame kind is diſcoverable in many artificial ſounds. The language of a ſavage is harſh; of polite people ſmooth; and of women, ſoft and muſical. The tongues of ſavage nations abound in gutturals, or in naſals: yet one would imagine that ſuch words, being pronounced with difficulty, ſhould be avoided by ſavages, as they are by children. But temper prevails, and ſuggeſts to ſavages harſh ſounds, conformable to their

* Chap. ii. part 6.

their roughneſs. The Eſquimaux have a language compoſed of the harſheſt gutturals; and the languages of the northern European nations are not remarkably ſmoother. The Scotch peaſants are a frank and plain people; and their dialect is in the tone of their character. The Huron tongue hath ſtatelineſs and energy above moſt known languages, which is more conformable to the elevation of their ſentiments, than to their preſent low condition. Thus the manners of a people may, in ſome meaſure, be gathered from their language. Nay, manners may frequently be gathered from ſingle words. The Hebrew word LECHOM ſignifies both *food* and *fighting;* and TEREPH ſignifies both *food* and *plunder.* KARAB ſignifies *to draw near to one*, and ſignifies alſo *to fight.* The Greek word LEIA, which ſignified originally *ſpoil procured by war or piracy*, came to ſignify *wealth.* And the great variety of Greek words ſignifying *good* and *better*, ſignified originally *ſtrong* and *violent.*

Government, according to its different kinds, hath conſiderable influence in forming the tone of a language. Language in a democracy is commonly rough and coarſe; in an ariſtocracy, manly and plain; in a monarchy, courteous and inſinuating; in deſpotiſm, imperious with reſpect to inferiors, and humble with reſpect to ſuperiors. The government of the Greek empire is well repreſented in Juſtinian's edicts, termed *Novellæ Conſtitutiones;* the ſtyle of which is ſtiff, formal, and af-

fectedly ſtately, but deſtitute of order, of force, and of ligament. About three centuries ago, Tuſcany was filled with ſmall republics, whoſe dialect was manly and plain. Its rough tones were purged off by their union under the Great Duke of Tuſcany; and the Tuſcan dialect has arrived nearer to perfection than any other in Italy. The tone of the French language is well ſuited to the nature of its government: every man is politely ſubmiſſive to thoſe above him; and this tone forms the character of the language in general, ſo as even to regulate the tone of the few who have occaſion to ſpeak with authority. The freedom of the Engliſh government forms the manners of the people: the Engliſh language is accordingly more manly and nervous than the French, and abounds more with rough ſounds. The Lacedemonians of old, a proud and auſtere people, affected to talk with brevity, in the tone of command more than of advice; and hence the Laconic ſtyle, dry but maſculine. The Attic ſtyle is more difficult to be accounted for: it is ſweet and copious, and had a remarkable delicacy above the ſtyle of any other nation. And yet the democracy of Athens produced rough manners; witneſs the comedies of Ariſtophanes, and the orations of Eſchines and Demoſthenes. We are not ſo intimately acquainted with the Athenians, as to account for the difference between their language and their manners. We are equally at a loſs about the Ruſſian tongue, which, notwithſtanding

notwithſtanding the barbarity of the people, is ſmooth and ſonorous: and, though the Malayans are the fierceſt people in the univerſe, their language is the ſofteſt of all that are ſpoken in Aſia. All that can be ſaid is, that the operation of a general cauſe may be diſturbed by particular circumſtances. Languages reſemble tides: the influence of the moon, which is the general cauſe of tides, is in ſeveral inſtances overbalanced by particular cauſes acting in oppoſition.

There may be obſerved in ſome ſavage tribes a certain refinement of language that might do honour to a poliſhed people. The Canadians never give a man his proper name, in ſpeaking to him. If he be a relation, he is addreſſed to in that quality: if a ſtranger, the ſpeaker gives him ſome appellation that marks affection; ſuch as brother, couſin, friend.

In early times, people lived in a very ſimple manner, ignorant of ſuch habitual wants, as are commonly termed luxury. Rebecca, Rachel, and and the daughters of Jethro, tended their father's flocks: they were really ſhepherdeſſes. Young women of faſhion drew water from the well with their own hands. The joiner who made the bridal bed of Ulyſſes, was Ulyſſes himſelf*. The Princeſs Nauſicaa waſhes the family-clothes; and the Princes her brothers, upon her return, unyoke the car, and carry in the clothes†. Queens, and even

 female

* Odyſſey, book 23. † Book 6. & 7.

female deities, are employed in ſpinning *. Is it from this faſhion that young women in England are denominated *ſpinſters?* Telemachus goes to council with no attendants but two dogs:

" Soon as in ſolemn form th' aſſembly ſat,
" From his high dome himſelf deſcends in ſtate;
" Bright in his hand a pond'rous jav'lin ſhin'd;
" Two dogs, a faithful guard, attend behind."

Odyſſey, book 2.

Priam's car is yoked by his own ſons, when he goes to redeem from Achilles the body of his ſon Hector. Telemachus yokes his own car †. Homer's heroes kill and dreſs their own victuals ‡. Achilles entertaining Priam, ſlew a ſnow-white ſheep; and his two friends flea'd and dreſſed it. Achilles himſelf divided the roaſted meat among his gueſts §. The ſtory of Ruth is a pleaſing inſtance of ſimplicity in ancient times; and her laying herſelf down to ſleep at the feet of Boaz, a no leſs pleaſing inſtance of innocence in theſe times. No people lived more innocently than the ancient Germans, though men and women lived together without reſerve. They ſlept promiſcuouſly round the walls of their houſes; and yet we never read of adultery among

* Book 10.

† Odyſſey, book 15. ‡ Odyſſey, book 19. & 20.

§ Pope, judging it below the dignity of Achilles to act the butcher, ſuppreſſes that article, impoſing the taſk upon his two friends. Pope did not conſider, that from a lively picture of ancient manners, proceeds one of the capital pleaſures we have in peruſing Homer.

among them. The Scotch Highlanders to this day live in the ſame manner. In Sparta, men and women lived familiarly together: public baths were common to both; and in certain games, they danced and combated together naked as when born. In a later period, the Spartan dames were much corrupted; occaſioned, as authors ſay, by a ſhameful freedom of intercourſe between the ſexes. But remark, that corruption was not confined to the female ſex, men having degenerated as much from their original manhood as women from their original chaſtity; and I have no difficulty to maintain, that gold and ſilver, admitted contrary to the laws of Lycurgus, were what corrupted both ſexes. Opulence could not fail to have the ſame effect there that it has every where; which is to excite luxury and every ſpecies of ſenſuality. The Spartans accordingly, renouncing auſterity of manners, abandoned themſelves to pleaſure: the moſt expenſive furniture, the ſofteſt beds, ſuperb tapeſtry, precious vaſes, exquiſite wines, delicious viands, were not now too delicate for an effeminate Spartan, once illuſtrious for every manly virtue. Lycurgus underſtood human nature better than the writers do who carp at him. It was his intention, to make his countrymen ſoldiers, not whining lovers: and he juſtly thought, that familiar intercourſe between the ſexes, would confine their appetites within the bounds of nature; an uſeful leſſon to women of faſhion in our days, who expoſe their nakedneſs

nakedneſs in order to attract and enflame lovers. What juſtifies this reaſoning is, the aſcendant that Spartan dames had over their huſbands while the laws of Lycurgus were in vigour: they in effect ruled the ſtate as well as their own families. Such aſcendant cannot be obtained nor preſerved but by ſtrict virtue: a women of looſe manners may be the object of looſe deſire; but ſeldom will ſhe gain an aſcendant over any man, and never over her huſband.

Not to talk of gold, ſilver was ſcarce in England during the reign of the third Edward. Rents were paid in kind; and what money they had, was locked up in the coffers of the great barons. Pieces of plate were bequeathed even by kings of England, ſo trifling in our eſtimation, that a gentlemen of a moderate fortune would be aſhamed to mention ſuch in his will.

Next of action. Man is naturally prone to motion; witneſs children, who are never at reſt but when aſleep. Where reaſon governs, a man reſtrains that reſtleſs diſpoſition, and never acts without a motive. Savages have few motives to action when the belly is full; their huts require little work, and their covering of ſkins ſtill leſs. Hunting and fiſhing employ all their activity. After much fatigue in hunting, reſt is ſweet; which the ſavage prolongs, having no motive to action till the time of hunting returns. Savages accordingly, like dogs, are extremely active in the field, and extremely

tremely indolent at home *. Savages in the torrid zone are indolent above all others; they go naked; their huts coſt them no trouble; and vegetables, that grow ſpontaneouſly, are their only food. The Spaniards who firſt landed in Hiſpaniola, were ſurpriſed at the manners of the inhabitants. They are deſcribed as lazy, and without ambition; paſſing part of their time in eating and dancing, and the reſt in ſleep; having no great ſhare of memory, and ſtill leſs of underſtanding. The character given of theſe ſavages belongs to all, eſpecially to ſavages in hot climates. The imperfection of their memory and judgment is occaſioned by want of exerciſe. The ſame imperfection was remarkable in the people of Paraguay, when

* "Quoties bella non ineunt, non multùm venatibus, plùs per otium, tranſigunt, dediti ſomno, ciboque. Fortiſſimus quiſque ac bellicoſiſſimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura fœminis ſenibusque, et infirmiſſimo cuique ex familia, ipſi hebent; mira diverſitate naturæ, cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, et oderint quietem." *Tacitus, De moribus Germanorum, cap.* 15.—[*In Engliſh thus:* "While "not engaged in war, they do not often ſpend their time in "hunting, but chiefly in indolence, minding nothing but "their ſleep and food. The braveſt and moſt warlike among "them, having nothing to do, paſs the time in a ſluggiſh "ſtupidy, committing the care of the houſe, the family, and the "culture of the lands, to women, old men, and to the moſt "weakly. Such is the wonderful diverſity of their nature, that "they are at once the moſt indolent of beings, and the moſt "impatient of reſt."]

when under Jesuit government; of which afterward *.

We now take under consideration, the progress of such manners as are more peculiarly influenced by internal disposition; preparing the reader by a general view, before entering into particulars. Man is by nature a timid animal, having little ability to secure himself against harm: but he becomes bold in society, and gives vent to passion against his enemies. In the hunter-state, the daily practice of slaughtering innocent animals for food, hardens men in cruelty: more savage than bears or wolves, they are cruel even to their own kind †. The

* Book 2. sketch 1.

† Though it is beyond the reach of conception, that blood, flesh, fibres, or bones, can be a *substratum* for thought, for will, for passion, or for any mental quality; yet certain philosophers boldly undertake to derive even the noblest principles from external circumstances relative to the body only. Thus, courage and cowardice are held to depend on the climate by the celebrated Montesquieu and several others. Sir William Temple ascribes these qualities to food, maintaining, that no animal which lives on vegetables is endowed with courage, the horse and cock alone excepted. I relish not doctrines that tend to degrade the most refined mental principles into bodily properties. With respect to the point under consideration, a very acute philosopher, taking a hint from Sir William Temple, derives from the difference of food the mental qualities of cruelty and humanity. (*a*) "Certain it is, (says "that author), that the people who subsist mostly on animal "food

(*a*) Emile, liv. 1.

The calm and ſedentary life of a ſhepherd, tends to ſoften the harſh manners of hunters; and agriculture,

" food are cruel and fierce above others. The barbarity of " the Engliſh is well known: the Gaures, who live wholly " on vegetables, are the ſweeteſt-tempered of all men. Wicked " men harden themſelves to murder by drinking blood." Even the moſt acute thinkers are not always on their guard againſt trivial analogies. Blood and ſlaughter are the fruits of cruelty; and hence it is raſhly inferred, that the drinking blood and eating fleſh tend to inſpire cruelty. The Carribbees, in the ſame way of thinking, abſtain from ſwines fleſh; " which (ſay they), would make our eyes ſmall like thoſe of " ſwine." Before venturing on a general rule, one ought to be prepared by an extenſive induction of particulars. What will M. Roſſeau ſay as to the Macaſſars, who never taſte animal food, and yet are acknowledged to be the fierceſt of mortals? And what will he ſay as to the Negroes of New Guinea, remarkably brutal and cruel? A favourite dog, companion to his maſter, lives commonly on the refuſe of his table, and yet is remarkably gentle. The Engliſh are noted for love of liberty: they cannot bear oppreſſion; and they know no bounds to reſentment againſt oppreſſors. He may call this cruelty if he be ſo diſpoſed: others, more candid, will eſteem it a laudable property. But to charge a nation in general with cruelty and ferocity, can admit no excuſe but ſtubborn truth. Ignorance cannot be admitted: and yet he ſhews groſs ignorance, as no people are more noted for humanity: in no other nation do ſympathetic affections prevail more: none are more ready, in caſes of diſtreſs, to ſtretch out a relieving hand. Did not the Engliſh, in aboliſhing the horrid barbarity of torture, give an illuſtrious example of humanity to all other nations? Nay, his inſtance that butchers are prohibited from being put upon a jury, the only

culture, requiring the union of many hands in one operation, improves benevolence. But here the hoarding appetite ſtarts up to diſturb that auſpicious commencement of civilization. Skilful huſbandry, producing the neceſſaries of life in plenty, paves the way to arts and manufactures. Fine houſes, ſplendid gardens, and rich apparel, are deſirable objects: the appetite for property becomes headſtrong, and to obtain gratification tramples down every obſtacle of juſtice or honour *. Differences ariſe, fomenting diſcord and reſentment: war ſprings up, even among thoſe of the ſame tribe; and while it was lawful for a man to take revenge at his own hand †, that fierce paſſion ſwallowed up all others. Inequality of rank and fortune foſtered diſſocial paſſions; witneſs pride, in particular,

only particular inſtance he gives of their cruelty, is, on the contrary, a proof of their humanity. For why are butchers excluded from being judges in criminal trials? for no other reaſon than that being inured to the blood of animals, they may have too little regard to the lives of their fellow-ſubjects.

Fleſh is compoſed of particles of different kinds. In the ſtomach, as in a ſtill, it is reſolved into its component particles, and ceaſes to be fleſh before it enters the lacteals. Will M. Roſſeau venture to ſay, which of theſe component particles it is that generates a cruel diſpoſition? Man, from the form of his teeth, and from other circumſtances, is evidently fitted by his maker for animal as well as vegetable food; and it would be an imputation on providence, that either of them ſhould have any bad effect on his mind more than on his body.

* See Sketch 3. † See Hiſtorical Law-tracts, tract 1.

cular, which produced a cuſtom, once univerſal among barbarians, of killing men, women, dogs, and horſes, for the uſe of a chieftain in the other world. Such complication of hateful and violent paſſions, rendering ſociety uncomfortable, cannot be ſtemmed by any human means, other than wholeſome laws: a momentary obſtacle inflames deſire; but perpetual reſtraint deadens even the moſt fervid paſſion. The authority of good government gave vigour to kindly affections; and appetite for ſociety, which acts inceſſantly, though not violently, gave a currency to mutual good offices. A circumſtance concurred to blunt the age of diſſocial paſſions: the firſt ſocieties were ſmall; and ſmall ſtates in cloſe neighbourhood engender diſcord and reſentment without end: the junction of many ſuch ſtates into a great kingdom, removes people farther from their enemies, and renders them more gentle *. In that ſituation, men have leiſure and ſedateneſs to reliſh the comforts of ſocial life: they find that ſelfiſh and turbulent paſſions are ſubverſive of ſociety; and through fondneſs for ſocial intercourſe, they patiently undergo the ſevere diſcipline, of reſtraining paſſion and ſmoothing manners. Violent paſſions that diſturb the peace of ſociety have ſubſided, and are now ſeldom heard of: humanity is in faſhion, and ſocial affections prevail. Men improve in urbanity by converſing with women; and, however ſelfiſh at heart, they conciliate favour

* See this more fully handled, book 2. ſketch 1.

favour, by affuming an air of difintereftednefs. Selfifhnefs, thus refined, becomes an effectual caufe of civilization. But what follows? Turbulent and violent paffions are buried, never again to revive; leaving the mind totally ingroffed by felf-intereft. In the original ftate of hunters, there being little connection among individuals, every man minds his own concerns, and felfifhnefs governs. The difcovery that hunting is beft carried on in company, promotes fome degree of fociety in that ftate: it gains ground in the fhepherd ftate, and makes a capital figure where husbandry and commerce flourifh. Private concord is promoted by focial affection; and a nation is profperous in proportion as the *amor patriæ* prevails. But wealth, acquired whether by conqueft or commerce, is productive of luxury, and every fpecies of fenfuality. As thefe increafe, focial affections decline, and at laft vanifh. This is vifible in every opulent city that has long flourifhed in extenfive commerce. Selfifhnefs becomes the ruling paffion: friendfhip is no more; and even blood-relation is little regarded. Every man ftudies his own intereft: opulence and fenfual pleafure are idols worfhipped by all. And thus, in the progrefs of manners, men end as they began: felfifhnefs is no lefs eminent in the laft and moft polifhed ftate of fociety, than in the firft and moft rude ftate.

From a general view of the progrefs of manners we defcend to particulars. And the firft fcene that

prefents

prefents itfelf is, cruelty to ftrangers, extended, in procefs of time, againft members of the fame tribe. Anger and refentment are predominant in favages, who never think of reftraining paffion. But this character is not univerfal: fome tribes are remarkable for humanity, as mentioned in the firft fketch. Anger and refentment formed the character of our European anceftors, and rendered them fierce and cruel. The Goths were fo prone to blood, that, in their firft inroads into the Roman territories, they maffacred man, woman, and child. Procopius reports, that in one of thefe inroads they left Italy thin of inhabitants. They were however an honeft people; and by the polifh they received in the civilized parts of Europe, they became no lefs remarkable for humanity, than formerly for cruelty. Totila, their king, having maftered Rome after a long and bloody fiege, permitted not a fingle perfon to be killed in cold blood, nor the chaftity of any woman to be attempted. One cannot without horror think of the wanton cruelties exercifed by the Tartars againft the nations invaded by them under Gengizcan and Timor Bec.

A Scythian, fays Herodotus, prefents the king with the heads of the enemies he has killed in battle; and the man who brings not a head, gets no fhare of the plunder. He adds, that many Scythians clothe themfelves with the fkins of men, and make ufe of the fkulls of their enemies to drink out of. Diodorus Siculus reports of the Gauls, that

 they

they carry home the heads of their enemies ſlain in battle; and after embalming them, depoſit them in cheſts as their chief trophy; bragging of the ſums offered for theſe heads by the friends of the deceaſed, and refuſed. In ſimilar circumſtances, men are the ſame all the world over. The ſcalping of enemies, in daily uſe among the North-American ſavages, is equally cruel and barbarous.

No ſavages are more cruel than the Greeks and Trojans were, as deſcribed by Homer; men butchered in cold blood, towns reduced to aſhes, ſovereigns expoſed to the moſt humbling indignities, no reſpect paid to age nor to ſex. The young Adraſtus *, thrown from his car, and lying in the duſt, obtained quarter from Menelaus. Agamemnon upbraided his brother for lenity: "Let none from de-
"ſtruction eſcape, not even the liſping infant in
"the mother's arms: all her ſons muſt with Ilium
"fall, and on her ruins unburied remain." He pierced the ſupplicant with his ſpear; and ſetting his foot on the body, pulled it out. Hector, having ſtripped Patroclus of his arms, drags the ſlain along, vowing to lop the head from the trunk, and to give the mangled corſe a prey to the dogs of Troy. And the ſeventeenth book of the Iliad is wholly employed in deſcribing the conteſt about the body between the Greeks and Trojans. Beſide the brutality of preventing the laſt duties from being

*Book 6. of the Iliad.

ing performed to a deceaſed friend, it is a low ſcene, unworthy of heroes. It was equally brutal in Achilles to drag the corſe of Hector to the ſhips tied to his car. In a ſcene between Hector and Andromaché *, the treatment of vanquiſhed enemies is pathetically deſcribed; ſovereigns maſſacred, and their bodies left a prey to dogs and vultures; ſucking infants daſhed againſt the pavement; ladies of the firſt rank forced to perform the loweſt acts of ſlavery. Hector doth not diſſemble, that if Troy ſhould be conquered, his poor wife would be condemned to draw water like the vileſt ſlave. Hecuba, in Euripides, laments that ſhe was chained like a dog at Agamemnon's gate; and the ſame ſavage manners are deſcribed in many other Greek tragedies. Prometheus makes free with the heavenly fire, in order to give life to man. As a puniſhment for bringing rational creatures into exiſtence, the gods decree, that he be chained to a rock, and abandoned to birds of prey. Vulcan is introduced by Æſchylus rattling the chain, nailing one end to a rock, and the other to the breaſt-bone of the criminal. Who but an American ſavage can at preſent behold ſuch a ſpectacle, and not be ſhocked? A ſcene repreſenting a woman murdered by her children, would be hiſſed by every modern audience; and yet that horrid ſcene was repreſented with applauſe in the Electra of Sophocles.

* Iliad, book 6.

cles. Stobœus reports a ſaying of Menander, that even the gods cannot inſpire a ſoldier with civility: no wonder that the Greek ſoldiers were brutes and barbarians, when war was waged, not only againſt the ſtate, but againſt every individual. At preſent, humanity prevails among ſoldiers as among others; becauſe we make war only againſt a ſtate, not againſt individuals. The Greeks are the leſs excuſable for their cruelty, as they appear to have been ſenſible that humanity is a cardinal virtue. Barbarians are always painted by Homer as cruel; poliſhed nations as tender and compaſſionate:

> " Ye gods! (he cried) upon what barren coaſt,
> " In what new region is Ulyſſes toſt?
> " Poſſeſs'd by wild barbarians fierce in arms,
> " Or men whoſe boſom tender pity warms?"
>
> *Odyſſey*, Book 13. 241.

Cruelty is inconſiſtent with true heroiſm; and, accordingly, very little of the latter is diſcoverable in any of Homer's warriors. So much did they retain of the ſavage character, as, even without bluſhing, to fly from an enemy ſuperior in bodily ſtrength. Diomedes, who makes an illuſtrious figure in the fifth book of the Iliad, retires when Hector appears: " Diomedes beheld the chief, and " ſhuddered to his inmoſt ſoul." Antilochus, ſon of Neſtor, having ſlain Melanippus *, ruſhed forward, eager to ſeize his bright arms. But ſeeing Hector,

* Book 15.

Hector, he fled like a beaſt of prey who ſhuns the gathering hinds. And the great Hector himſelf ſhamefully turns his back upon the near approach of Achilles: " Periphetes, endowed with every " virtue, renowned in the race, great in war, in " prudence excelling his fellows, gave glory to " Hector, covering the chief with renown." One would expect a fierce combat between theſe two bold warriors. Not ſo, Periphetes ſtumbling, fell to the ground; and Hector was not aſhamed to transfix with his ſpear the unreſiſting hero.

In the ſame tone of character, nothing is more common among Homer's warriors than to inſult a vanquiſhed foe. Patroclus, having beat Cebriones to the ground with a huge ſtone, derides his fall in the following words:

" Good heav'ns! what active feats yon artiſt ſhows,
" What ſkilful divers are our Phrygian foes!
" Mark with what eaſe they ſink into the ſand.
" Pity! that all their practice is by land."

The Greeks are repreſented * one after another ſtabbing the dead body of Hector: " Nor ſtood an " Argive near the chief who inflicted not a wound. " Surely now, ſaid they, more eaſy of acceſs is " Hector, than when he launched on the ſhips " brands of devouring fire."

When ſuch were the manners of warriors at the ſiege of Troy, it is no ſurpriſe to find the heroes on

* Book 22.

both ſides no leſs intent on ſtripping the ſlain than on victory. They are every where repreſented as greedy of ſpoil.

The Jews did not yield to the Greeks in cruelty. It is unneceſſary to give inſtances, as the hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament are in the hands of every one. I ſhall ſelect one inſtance for a ſpecimen, dreadfully cruel without any juſt provocation: "And David gathered all the people together, and went to Rabbah, and fought againſt it, and took it. And he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under ſaws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them paſs through the brick-kiln: and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon *."

That cruelty was predominant among the Romans, is evident from every one of their hiſtorians. If a Roman citizen was found murdered in his own houſe, his whole houſehold ſlaves, perhaps two or three hundred, were put to death without mercy, unleſs they could detect the murderer. Such a law, cruel and unjuſt, could never have been enacted among a people of any humanity. Brutality to their offspring was glaring. Children were held, like cattle, to be the father's property: and ſo tenacious was the *patria poteſtas*, that if a ſon or daughter ſold to be a ſlave was ſet free, he or ſhe fell

* 2 Samuel, xii. 29.

fell again under the father's power, to be ſold a ſecond time, and even a third time. The power of life and death over children was much leſs unnatural, while no public tribunal exiſted for puniſhing crimes. A ſon, being a ſlave, could have no property of his own. Julius Cæſar was the firſt who privileged a ſon to retain for his own uſe ſpoils acquired in war. When law became a lucrative profeſſion, what a ſon gained in that way was declared to be his property. In Athens, a man had power of life and death over his children; but, as they were not ſlaves, what they acquired belonged to themſelves. So late as the days of Dioclesian, a ſon's marriage did not diſſolve the Roman *patria poteſtas* *. But the power of ſelling children wore out of uſe †. When powers ſo unnatural were given to men over their children, and exerciſed ſo tyrannically, can there be any doubt of their cruelty to others ‡? During the ſecond

* l. 1. Cod. cap. De patria poteſtate.

† l. 10. eod.

‡ The effect of ſuch unnatural powers was to eradicate natural affection between a man and his children. And, indeed, ſo little of nature was left in this connection, that a law was found neceſſary, prohibiting a man to diſinherit his children, except for certain cauſes ſpecified, importing groſs ingratitude in the latter; which was done by Juſtinian the Emperor in one of his novels. But behold what follows. A prohibition to exheredate childen renders them independent; and ſuch independence produces an effect ſtill more perniciou, than

triumvirate, horrid cruelties were every day perpetrated without pity or remorſe. Antony, having ordered Cicero to be beheaded, and the head to be brought to him, viewed it with ſavage pleaſure. His wife Fulvia laid hold of it, ſtruck it on the face, uttered many bitter execrations, and, having placed it between her knees, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with a bodkin. The delight it gave the Romans to ſee wild beaſts ſet looſe againſt one another in their circus, is a proof not at all ambiguous of their taſte for blood, even at the time of their higheſt civilization. The edile Scaurus ſent at one time to Rome 150 panthers, Pompey 410, and Auguſtus 420, for the public ſpectacles. Their gladiatorian combats are a leſs evident proof of their ferocity: the courage and addreſs exerted in theſe combats gave a manly pleaſure, that balanced in ſome meaſure the pain of ſeeing theſe poor fellows cut and ſlaſh one another. And, that the Romans were never cured of their thirſt for blood, appears from Caligula, Nero, and many other monſters, who tormented the Romans after

than deſpotic power in a father. Awe and reverence to parents make the only effectual check againſt the headſtrong paſſions of youth: remove that check, and young men of fortune will give the rein to every vice. It deſerves to be ſeriouſly pondered, whether the ſame encouragement be not given to vice, by a practice general in England among men of fortune in their marriage-articles, which is, to veſt the eſtate in truſtees, for behoof of the heir of the marriage.

after Auguſtus. There is no example in modern times of ſuch monſters in France, though an abſolute monarchy, nor even in Turkey.

Ferocity was, in the Roman empire, conſiderably mollified by literature and other fine arts; but it acquired new force upon the irruption of the barbarous nations who cruſhed that empire. In the year 559, Clotaire, King of the Franks, burnt alive his ſon, with all his friends, becauſe they had rebelled againſt him. Queen Brunehaud, being by Clotaire II. condemned to die, was dragged through the camp at a horſe's tail, till ſhe gave up the ghoſt. The ferocity of European nations became boundleſs during the anarchy of the feudal ſyſtem. Many peaſants in the northern provinces of France being ſorely oppreſſed in civil wars carried on by the nobles againſt each other, turned deſperate, gathered together in bodies, reſolving to extirpate all the nobles. A party of them, *anno* 1358, forced open the caſtle of a knight, hung him upon a gallows, violated in his preſence his wife and daughters, roaſted him upon a ſpit, compelled his wife and children to eat of his fleſh, and terminated that horrid ſcene with maſſacring the whole family, and burning the caſtle. When they were aſked, ſays Froiſſard, why they committed ſuch abominable actions, their anſwer was, "That they did as they "ſaw others do; and that all the nobles in the "world ought to be deſtroyed." The nobles, when they got the upper hand, were equally cruel.

They

triumvirate, horrid cruelties were every day perpetrated without pity or remorſe. Antony, having ordered Cicero to be beheaded, and the head to be brought to him, viewed it with ſavage pleaſure. His wife Fulvia laid hold of it, ſtruck it on the face, uttered many bitter execrations, and, having placed it between her knees, drew out the tongue, and pierced it with a bodkin. The delight it gave the Romans to ſee wild beaſts ſet looſe againſt one another in their circus, is a proof not at all ambiguous of their taſte for blood, even at the time of their higheſt civilization. The edile Scaurus ſent at one time to Rome 150 panthers, Pompey 410, and Auguſtus 420, for the public ſpectacles. Their gladiatorian combats are a leſs evident proof of their ferocity: the courage and addreſs exerted in theſe combats gave a manly pleaſure, that balanced in ſome meaſure the pain of ſeeing theſe poor fellows cut and flaſh one another. And, that the Romans were never cured of their thirſt for blood, appears from Caligula, Nero, and many other monſters, who tormented the Romans after

than deſpotic power in a father. Awe and reverence to parents make the only effectual check againſt the headſtrong paſſions of youth: remove that check, and young men of fortune will give the rein to every vice. It deſerves to be ſeriouſly pondered, whether the ſame encouragement be not given to vice, by a practice general in England among men of fortune in their marriage-articles, which is, to veſt the eſtate in truſtees, for behoof of the heir of the marriage.

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religious zeal is considerably abated. Savonarola was condemned to the flames as an impious impostor; but he was first privately strangled. The fine arts, which humanize manners, were in Italy at that time accelerating toward perfection. The famous Latimer was in England condemned to be burnt for heresy: but bags of gunpowder were put under his arms, that he might be burnt with the least pain. Even Knox, a violent Scotch reformer, acknowledges, that Wishart was strangled before he was thrown into the flames for heresy. So bitter was the late persecution against the Jesuits, that not only were their persons proscribed, but in many places their books, not even excepting books upon mathematics, and other abstract subjects. That persecution resembled in many particulars the persecution against the knights-templars: fifty-nine of the latter were burnt alive: the former were really less innocent; and yet such humanity prevails at present, that not a drop of Jesuit-blood has been shed. A bankrupt in Scotland, if he have not suffered by unavoidable misfortune, is by law condemned to wear a party-coloured garment. That law is not now put in execution, unless where a bankrupt deserves to be stigmatized for his culpable misconduct.

Whether the following late instance of barbarity do not equal any of those above mentioned, I leave to the reader. No traveller who visited Petersburgh during the reign of the Empress Elizabeth can

can be ignorant of Madam Lapouchin, the great ornament of that Court. Her intimacy with a foreign ambaſſador having brought her under ſuſpicion of plotting with him againſt the government, ſhe was condemned to undergo the puniſhment of the knout. At the place of execution, ſhe appeared in a genteel undreſs, which heightened her beauty. Of whatever indiſcretion ſhe might have been guilty, the ſweetneſs of her countenance and her compoſure, left not in the ſpectators the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of guilt. Her youth alſo, her beauty, her life and ſpirit pleaded for her. But all in vain: ſhe was deſerted by all, and abandoned to ſurly executioners; whom ſhe beheld with aſtoniſhment, ſeeming to doubt whether ſuch preparations were intended for her. The cloak that covered her boſom being pulled off, modeſty took the alarm, and made her ſtart back: ſhe turned pale, and burſt into tears. One of the executioners ſtripped her naked to the waſte, ſeized her with both hands, and threw her on his back, raiſing her ſome inches from the ground. The other executioner laying hold of her delicate limbs with his rough fiſts, put her in a poſture for receiving the puniſhment. Then laying hold of the knout, a ſort of whip made of a leathern ſtrap, he with a ſingle ſtroke tore off a ſlip of ſkin from the neck downward, repeating his ſtrokes till all the ſkin of her back was cut off in ſmall ſlips. The executioner

executioner finiſhed his taſk with cutting out her tongue; after which ſhe was baniſhed to Siberia*.

The native inhabitants of the iſland Amboyna are Malayans. Thoſe on the ſea-coaſt are ſubject to the Dutch: thoſe in the inland parts are their declared enemies, and never give quarter. A Dutch captive, after being confined five days without food, is ripped up, his heart cut out, and the head ſevered from the body, is preſerved in ſpice for a trophy. Thoſe who can ſhow the greateſt number of Dutch heads are the moſt honourable.

In early times, when revenge and cruelty trampled on law, people formed aſſociations for ſecuring their lives and their poſſeſſions. Theſe were common in Scandinavia and in Scotland. They were alſo common in England during the Anglo-Saxon government, and for ſome ages after the Conqueſt. But, inſtead of ſupporting juſtice, they contributed more than any other cauſe to confuſion and anarchy, the members protecting each other, even in robbery

* The preſent Empreſs has laid an excellent foundation for civilizing her people; which is a code of laws, founded on principles of civil liberty, baniſhing ſlavery and torture, and expreſſing the utmoſt regard for the life, property, and liberty, of all her ſubjects, high and low. Peter I. reformed many bad cuſtoms: but being rough in his own manners, he left the manners of his people as he found them. If this Empreſs happen to enjoy a long and proſperous reign, ſhe may poſſibly accompliſh the moſt difficult of all undertakings, that of poliſhing a barbarous people. No taſk is too arduous for a woman of ſuch ſpirit.

robbery and murder. They were ſuppreſſed in England by a ſtatute of Richad II.; and in Scotland by reiterated ſtatutes.

Roughneſs and harſhneſs of manners are generally connected with cruelty; and the manners of the Greeks and Trojans are accordingly repreſented in the Iliad as remarkably rough and harſh. When the armies were ready to engage *, Meneſtheus King of Athens, and Ulyſſes of Ithaca, are bitterly reproached by Agamemnon for lingering, while others were more forward. "Son of Peleus, he "ſaid, and thou verſed in artful deceit, in miſ-"chief only wiſe, why trembling ſhrink ye back "from the field; why wait till others engage in "fight? You it became, as firſt in rank, the firſt "to meet the flame of war. Ye firſt to the ban-"quet are called, when we ſpread the feaſt. Your "delight is to eat, to regale, to quaff unſtinted the "generous wine." In the fifth book, Sarpedon upbraids Hector for cowardice. And Tlepolemus, ready to engage with Sarpedon, attacks him firſt with reviling and ſcurrilous words. Becauſe Hector was not able to reſcue the dead body of Sarpedon from the Greeks, he is upbraided by Glaucus, Sarpedon's friend, in the following words: "Hector, though ſpecious in form, diſtant art thou "from valour in arms. Undeſerved haſt thou "fame acquired, when thus thou ſhrinkeſt from "the field. Thou ſuſtaineſt not the dreadful arm, "not

* Book 4.

" not even the fight of godlike Ajax. Thou haſt " ſhunned his face in the fight: thou dareſt not " approach his ſpear."

Rough and harſh manners produced ſlavery; and ſlavery foſtered rough and harſh manners, by giving them conſtant exerciſe. The brutality of the Spartans to the Helots, their ſlaves, is a reproach to the human ſpecies. Beſide ſuffering the harſheſt uſage, they were prevented from multiplying by downright murder and maſſacre. Why did not ſuch barbarity render the Spartans deteſtable, inſtead of being reſpected by their neighbours as the moſt virtuous people in Greece? There can be but one reaſon, that the Greeks were all of them cruel, the Spartans a little more perhaps than the reſt. In Rome, a ſlave, chained at the gate of every great houſe, gave admittance to the gueſts invited to a feaſt: could any but barbarians behold ſuch a ſpectacle without pain?

Whence the rough and harſh manners of our Weſt Indian planters, but from the unreſtrained licence of venting ill humour upon their Negro ſlaves *? Why are carters a rugged ſet of men? Plainly

* " C'eſt de cet eſclavage des negres, que les Crèoles tirent peut-être en partie un certain caractere, qui les fait paroître bizarres, fantaſques, et d'une ſociété peu goûtée en Europe. A peine peuvent-ils marcher dans l'enfance, qu'ils voient autour d'eux des hommes grands et robuſtes, deſtinés à deviner, à prevenir leur volonté. Ce premier coup d'œil doit leur

Plainly becauſe horſes, their ſlaves, ſubmit without reſiſtance. An ingenious writer, deſcribing Guiana in

leur donner d'eux-mêmes l'opinion la plus extravagante. Rarement exposés à trouver de la réſiſtance dans leurs fantaiſies même injuſtes, ils prennent un eſprit de préſomption, de tyrannie, et de mépris extrême, pour une grande portion du genre humain Rien n'eſt plus inſolent que l'homme qui vit preſque toujours avec ſes inferieurs ; mais quand ceux-ci ſont des eſclaves, accoutumés à ſervir des enfans, à craindre jusqu' à des cris qui doivent leur attirer des châtiments, que peuvent devenir des maîtres qui n'ont jamais obéi, des méchans qui n'ont jamais été punis, des foux qui mettent des hommes à la chaîne ?" *Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique des etabliſſemens des Européens dans les Deux Indes, l. 4. p.* 201.—[*In Engliſh thus :* " It " is from the ſlavery of the Negroes that the Creoles derive in " a great meaſure that character which makes them appear " capricious and fantaſtical, and of a ſtyle of manners which " is not reliſhed in Europe. Scarcely have the children " learned to walk, when they ſee around them tall and robuſt " men, whoſe province it is to gueſs their inclinations, and " to prevent their wiſhes. This firſt obſervation muſt give " them the moſt extravagant opinion of themſelves. From " being ſeldom accuſtomed to meet with any oppoſition, even " in their moſt unreaſonable whims, they acquire a pre- " ſumptuous and tyrannical diſpoſition, and entertain an ex- " treme contempt for a great part of the human race. None " is ſo inſolent as the man who lives almoſt always with his " inferiors ; but when theſe inferiors are ſlaves accuſtomed to " ſerve infants, and to fear even their crying, for which " they muſt ſuffer puniſhment, what can be expected of thoſe " maſters who have never obeyed, profligates who have never " met with chaſtiſement, and madmen who load their fellow- " creatures with chains ?"]

in the ſouthern continent of America, obſerves, that the negroes, who are more numerous than the whites, muſt be kept in awe by ſeverity of diſcipline. And he endeavours to juſtify the practice; urging, that beſide contributing to the ſafety of the white inhabitants, it makes the ſlaves themſelves leſs unhappy. "Impoſſibility of attainment," ſays he, "never fails to annihilate deſire of enjoyment; and rigid treatment, ſuppreſſing every hope of liberty, makes them peaceably ſubmit to ſlavery." Sad indeed muſt be the condition of ſlaves, if harſh treatment contribute to make them leſs unhappy. Such reaſoning may be reliſhed by rough European planters, intent upon gain: I am inclined, however, to believe, that the harſh treatment of theſe poor people is more owing to the avarice of their maſters than to their own perverſeneſs*. That ſlaves in all ages have been harſhly treated, is a melancholy truth. One exception I know, and but one, which I gladly mention in honour of the Mandingo Negroes. Their ſlaves, who are numerous, receive very gentle treatment; the women eſpecially, who are generally

* In England, ſlavery ſubſiſted ſo late as the ſixteenth century. A commiſſion was iſſued by Queen Elizabeth, *anno* 1574, for inquiring into the lands and goods of all her bondmen and bondwomen in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerſet, and Glouceſter, in order to compound with them for their manumiſſion or freedom, that they might enjoy their own lands and goods as free men.

rally ſo well dreſſed as not to be diſtinguiſhable from thoſe who are free.

Many political writers are of opinion, that for crimes inſtigated by avarice only, ſlavery for life, and hard work, would be a more adequate puniſhment than death. I would ſubſcribe to that opinion but for the following conſideration, that the having ſuch criminals perpetually in view, would harden our hearts, and eradicate pity, a capital moral paſſion. Behold the behaviour of the Dutch in the iſland of Amboyna. A native who is found guilty of theft, is deprived of his ears and noſe, and made a ſlave for life. William Funnel, who was there *anno* 1705, reports, that 500 of theſe wretches were ſecured in priſon, and never ſuffered to go abroad but in order to ſaw timber, to cut ſtone, or to carry heavy burdens. Their food is a pittance of coarſe rice boiled in water, and their bed the hard ground. What is ſtill worſe, poor people who happen to run in debt, are turned over to the ſervants of the Eaſt India company, who ſend them to work among their ſlaves, with a daily allowance of twopence, which goes to the creditor. A nation muſt be devoid of bowels who can eſtabliſh ſuch inhumanity by law. But time has rendered that practice ſo familiar to the Dutch, that they behold with abſolute indifference the multiplied miſeries of their fellow creatures. It appears, indeed, that ſuch a puniſhment would be more effectual than death to repreſs theft; but can any one doubt,

that ſociety would ſuffer more by eradicating pity and humanity, than it would gain by puniſhing capitally every one who is guilty of theft? At the ſame time, the Dutch, however cruel to the natives, are extremely complaiſant to one another: ſeldom is any of them puniſhed but for murder: a ſmall ſum will procure pardon for any other crime.

Upon the brutality and harſh manners of ſavages, was founded an opinion univerſally prevalent, that man is an obdurate being who muſt be governed by fear, not by love. It was the politic of princes to keep their ſubjects in awe; and every ſubject became a creeping ſlave. Hence the univerſal practice of never appearing before a ſovereign or a prince but with a ſplendid preſent, in order to deprecate his wrath or ſoften his temper. Philoſophy has in time baniſhed theſe crude notions of human nature, and taught us that man is a ſocial being, upon whom benevolence has a more powerful influence than fear. Benevolence, accordingly, has become the ruling principle in ſociety; and it is now the glory of princes to beſtow favours and to receive none. This change of manners governs equally the worſhip paid to the Deity. Among rude nations, the Deity is repreſented as an angry God, viſiting the ſins of the fathers upon the children; and hence oblations, offerings, ſacrifices, not even excepting human victims. Happy it is for us to have received more refined notions of

of the Deity. The opinion, juſtly founded, that benevolence is his prime attribute, has baniſhed oblations, ſacrifices, and ſuch trumpery; and we depend on the goodneſs of the Deity, without any retribution but that of a grateful heart.

A degree of coarſeneſs and indelicacy is connected with rough manners. The manners of the Greeks, as copied by Plautus and Terence from Menander and other Greek writers, were extremely coarſe; ſuch as may be expected from a people living among their ſlaves, without any ſociety with virtuous women. The behaviour of Demoſthenes and Eſchines to each other in their public harangues is wofully coarſe. But Athens was a democracy; and a democracy, above all other governments, is rough and licentious. In the Athenian comedy, neither gods nor men are ſpared. The moſt reſpectable perſons of the republic are ridiculed by name in the comedies of Ariſtophanes, which wallow in looſeneſs and detraction. In the third act of Andromaché, a tragedy of Euripedes, Peleus and Menelaus, Kings of Theſſaly and Sparta, fall into downright ribaldry; Menelaus ſwearing that he will not give up his victim, and Peleus threatening to knock him down with his ſtaff. The manners of Jaſon, in the tragedy of Medea by Euripides, are wofully indelicate. With unparalleled ingratitude to his wife Medea, he, even in her preſence, makes love to the King of Corinth's daughter, and obtains her in marriage. In-

ſtead of bluſhing to ſee a perſon he had ſo deeply injured, he coolly endeavours to excuſe himſelf, "that he was an exile like herſelf, without ſup-"port; and that his marriage would acquire "powerful friends to them and to their children." Could he imagine that ſuch frigid reaſons would touch a woman of any ſpirit? A moſt ſtriking picture of indelicate manners is exhibited in the tragedy of Alceſtes. Admetus prevails upon Alceſtes, his loving and beloved wife, to die in his ſtead. What a barbarian muſt the man be who graſps at life upon ſuch a condition? How ridiculous is the bombaſt flouriſh of Admetus, that, if he were Orpheus, he would pierce to hell, brave the three-headed Cerberus, and bring his wife to earth again! and how indecently does he ſcold his father for refuſing to die for him! What pretext could the monſter have to complain of his father, when he himſelf was ſo diſgracefully fond of life, as even to ſolicit his beloved ſpouſe to die in his ſtead! What ſtronger inſtance, after all, would one require of indelicacy in the manners of the Greeks, than that they held all the world except themſelves to be barbarians? In that particular, however, they are not altogether ſingular. Though the Tartars, as mentioned above, were foul feeders, and hoggiſhly naſty, yet they were extremely proud, deſpiſing, like the Greeks, every other nation. The people of Congo think the world to be the work of angels, except their own country, which

which they hold to be the handiwork of the ſupreme architect. The Greenlanders have a high conceit of themſelves; and in private make a mock of the Europeans, or Kablunets, as they call them. Deſpiſing arts and ſciences, they value themſelves on their ſkill in catching ſeals, conceiving it to be the only uſeful art. They hold themſelves to be the only civilized and well-bred people; and when they ſee a modeſt ſtranger, they ſay, "he begins "to be a man;" that is, to be like one of themſelves. Sometimes, however, ſparks of light are perceived breaking through the deepeſt gloom. When the Athenians were at war with Philip King of Macedon, they intercepted ſome letters addreſſed by him to his miniſters. Theſe they opened for intelligence: but one to his Queen Olympias they left with the meſſenger untouched. This was done not by a ſingle perſon, but by authority of the whole people.

So coarſe and indelicate were Roman manners, that whipping was a puniſhment inflicted on the officers of the army, not even excepting centurions*. Doth it not ſhow extreme groſſneſs of manners, to expreſs in plain words the parts that modeſty bids us conceal? and yet this is common in Greek and Roman writers. In the Cyclops of Euripides, there is repreſented a ſcene of the vice againſt nature, groſsly obſcene, without the leaſt diſguiſe. How wofully indelicate muſt the man

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* Julius Capitolinus, in the life of Albinus.

have been, who could ſit down gravely to compoſe ſuch a piece! and how diſſolute muſt the ſpectators have been who could behold ſuch a ſcene without hiſſing! Next to the indecency of expoſing one's nudities in good company, is the talking of them without reſerve. Horace is extremely obſcene, and Martial no leſs. But I cenſure neither of them, and as little the Queen of Navarre for her tales; for they wrote according to the manners of the times: it is the manners I cenſure, not the writers. In Rome, a woman taken in adultery was proſtituted on the public ſtreet to all comers, a bell ringing the whole time. This abominable practice was aboliſhed by the Emperor Theodoſius *.

The manners of Europe, before the revival of letters, were no leſs coarſe than cruel. In the Cartularies of Charlemagne, judges are forbidden to hold courts but in the morning, with an empty ſtomach. It would appear, that men in thoſe days were not aſhamed to be ſeen drunk, even in a court of juſtice. It was cuſtomary, both in France and Italy, to collect for ſport all the ſtrumpets in the neighbourhood, and to make them run races. Several feudal tenures give evidence of manners both low and coarſe. Struvius mentions a tenure, binding the vaſſal, on the birth-day of his lord, to dance and fart before him. The cod-piece, which, a few centuries ago, made part of a man's dreſs, and

* Socrates, Hiſt. Eccl. liv. 5. chap. 18.

and which ſwelled by degrees to a monſtrous ſize, teſtifies ſhamefully coarſe manners; and yet it was a modeſt ornament, compared with one uſed in France during the reign of Lewis XI. which was the figure of a man's privy parts fixed to the coat or breeches. In the ſame period, the judgment of Paris was a favourite theatrical entertainment: three women ſtark-naked repreſented the three goddeſſes, Juno, Venus, and Minerva. Nick-names, ſo common not long ago, are an inſtance of the ſame coarſeneſs of manners; for to fix a nick-name on a man, is to uſe him with contemptuous familiarity. In the thirteenth century, many clergymen refuſed to adminiſter the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, unleſs they were paid for it *. In the tenth century, Edmond King of England, at a feſtival in the county of Glouceſter, obſerved Leolf, a notorious robber, under ſentence of baniſhment, ſitting at table with the King's attendants. Enraged at this inſolence, he ordered Leolf to leave the room. On his refuſing to obey, the King leaped on him, and ſeized him by the hair. The ruffian drew his dagger, and gave the King a wound, of which he immediately expired. How lamentable would be our condition, were we as much

* "Corpus Chriſti tenentes in manibus, (ſays the canon), ac ſi dicerent, Quid mihi vultus dare, et ego eum vobis tradam?"—[*In Engliſh thus*: "Holding the body of Chriſt in "their hands, as if they ſaid, What will you give me for "this?"]

much perſecuted as our forefathers were with omens, dreams, prophesies, aſtrologers, witches, and apparitions? Our forefathers were robuſt both in mind and body, and could bear without much pain what would totally overwhelm us.

Even after the revival of letters, the European manners were a long time coarſe and indelicate. In the year 1480, the Cardinal Bibiena exhibited the *Calendra*, a comedy of intrigue upon a good model, but extremely licentious, as all compoſitions of that age were. The *Mandragora* of Machiavel is equally licentious; and, conſidering the author, the Queen of Navarre's tales, worſt of all.

Swearing as an expletive of ſpeech, is a violent ſymptom of rough and coarſe manners. It prevails among all barbarous nations. Even women in Plautus uſe it fluently. It prevailed in Spain and in France, till it was baniſhed by polite manners. Our Queen Eliſabeth was a bold ſwearer*; and the Engliſh populace, who are rough beyond their neighbours, are noted by ſtrangers for that vice. John King of England ſwore commonly, "by the "teeth of God." Charles VIII. of France, "by "God's

* Writing to her ſiſter the Queen, begging that ſhe might not be impriſoned in the Tower, ſhe concludes her letter thus: "As for that traitor Wyat, he might peradventure write me "a letter: but on my faith I never received any from him. "And, as for the copy of my letter ſent to the French King, "I pray God confound me eternally if ever I ſent him "word, meſſage, token, or letter."

"God's day." Francis I. "upon the faith of a "gentleman." And the oath of Lewis XII. was, "May the devil take me." Though ſwearing, in order to enforce an expreſſion, is not in itſelf immoral; it is, however, hurtful in its conſequences, rendering ſacred names too familiar. God's beard, the common oath of William Rufus, ſuggeſts an image of our Maker as an old man with a long beard. In vain have acts of parliament been made againſt ſwearing: it is eaſy to evade the penalty, by coining new oaths; and, as that vice proceeds from an overflow of ſpirits, people in that condition brave penalties. Poliſhed manners are the only effectual cure for that malady.

When a people begin to emerge out of barbarity, loud mirth and rough jokes come in place of rancour and reſentment. About a century ago, it was uſual for the ſervants and retainers of the Court of Seſſion in Scotland, to break out into riotous mirth and uproar the laſt day of every term, throwing bags, duſt, ſand, or ſtones, all around. We have undoubted evidence of that diſorderly practice from an act of the Court, prohibiting it under a ſevere penalty, as diſhonourable to the Court, and unbecoming the civility requiſite in ſuch a place *.

And this leads to the lowneſs of ancient manners; plainly diſtinguiſhable from ſimplicity of manners: the latter is agreeable, not the former.

Among

* Act of Sederunt, 21ſt February 1663.

Among the ancient Egyptians, to cram a man was an act of high respect. Joseph, the King's first minister, in order to honour Benjamin above his brethren, gave him a five-fold-mess *. The Greeks, in their feasts, distinguished their heroes by a double portion †. Ulysses cut a fat piece out of the chine of a wild boor for Demodocus the bard ‡. The same respectful politeness is practised at present among the American savages, so much are all men alike in similar circumstances. Telemachus || complains bitterly of Penelopé's suitors, that they were gluttons, and consumed his beef and mutton. The whole 14th book of the Odyssey, containing the reception of Ulysses by Eumæus the swine-herd, is miserably low. Manners must be both gross and low, where common beggars are admitted to the feasts of princes, and receive scraps from their hands §. In Rome every guest brought his own napkin to a feast. A slave carried it home, filled with what was left from the entertainment. Sophocles, in his tragedy of Iphigenia in Aulis, represents Clytemnestra, stepping down from her car, and exhorting her servants to look after her baggage, with the anxiety and minuteness of a lady's waiting-woman. In the tragedy of Jon, this man, a servant in the temple of Delphos, is represented cleaning

* Gen. xliii. 34. † Odyssey, b. 8. v. 513. B. 15. v. 156.

‡ Odyssey, b. 8. v. 519. || Odyssey, b. 2.

§ See 17th and 18th books of the Odyssey.

cleaning the temple, and calling out to a flock of birds, each by name, threatening to pierce them with his arrows if they dunged upon the offerings. Homer paints in lively colours the riches of the Phœacians, their ſkill in navigation, the magnificence of the King's court, of his palace, and of the public buildings. But, with the ſame breath, he deſcribes Nauſicaa, the King's daughter, travelling to the river on a waggon of greaſy clothes, to be waſhed by her and her maids. Poſſibly it may be urged, that ſuch circumſtances, however low in our opinion, did not appear low in Greece, as they were introduced by their chief poet, and the greateſt that ever exiſted. I acknowledge the force of this argument: but what does it prove, more than that the Greeks were not ſenſible of the lowneſs of their manners? Is any nation ſenſible of the lowneſs of their own manners? The manners of the Greeks did not correſpond to the delicacy of their taſte in the fine arts: nor can it be expected, when they were ſtrangers to that polite ſociety with women, which refines behaviour, and elevates manners. The firſt kings in Greece, as Thucydides obſerves, were elective, having no power but to command their armies in time of war; which reſembles the government that obtains at preſent in the iſthmus of Darien. The Greeks had no written laws, being governed by cuſtom merely. To live by plunder was held honourable; for it was their opinion, that the rules of juſtice are not

not intended for restraining the powerful. All strangers were accounted enemies, as among the Romans; and inns were unknown, because people lived at home, having very little intercourse even with those of their own nation. Inns were unknown in Germany, and to this day are unknown in the remote parts of the Highlands of Scotland; but for an opposite reason, that hospitality prevailed greatly among the ancient Germans, and continues to prevail so much among our Highlanders, that a gentleman takes it for an affront if a stranger pass his door. At a congress between Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England, among other spectacles for public entertainment, the two Kings had a wrestling match. Had they forgot that they were sovereign princes?

One would imagine war to be a soil too rough for the growth of civilization; and yet it is not always an unkindly soil. War between two small tribes is fierce and cruel: but a large state mitigates resentment, by directing it not against individuals, but against the state. We know no enemies but those who are in arms: we have no resentment against others, but rather find a pleasure in treating them with humanity *. Cruelty, having

* The constable du Guesclin, the greatest warrior of his time, being on deathbed, *anno* 1380, and bidding adieu to his veteran officers who had served under him for forty years, entreated them not to forget what he had said to them a thousand

ving thus in war few individuals for its object, naturally subsides; and magnanimity in its stead transforms soldiers from brutes to heroes. Some time ago, it was usual in France to demand battle; and it was held dishonourable to decline it, however unequal the match. Before the battle of Pavia, Francis I. wrote to the Marquis Pescara, the Imperial General, "You will find me before "Pavia, and you ought to be here in six days: I "give you twenty. Let not the superiority of "my forces serve for an excuse; I will fight you "with equal numbers." Here was heroism without prudence; but, in all reformations, it is natural to go from one extreme to the other. While the King of England held any possessions in France, war was perpetual between the two nations, which was commonly carried on with more magnanimity than is usual between inveterate enemies. It became customary to give prisoners their freedom, upon a simple parole to return with their ransom at a day named. The same was the custom in the border-wars between the English and Scots, before their union under one monarch. But parties found their account equally in such honourable behaviour. Edward Prince of Wales, in a pitched battle against the French, took the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin prisoner. He long declined to accept

thousand times, "that in whatever country they made war, "churchmen, women, infants, and the poor people, were "not their enemies."

accept a ranſom; but, finding it whiſpered that he was afraid of that hero, he inſtantly ſet him at liberty without a ranſom. This may be deemed impolitic or whimſical: but is love of glory leſs praiſe-worthy than love of conqueſt? The Duke of Guiſe, victor in the battle of Dreux, reſted all night in the field of battle; and gave the Prince of Condé, his priſoner, a ſhare of his bed, where they lay like brothers. The Chevalier Bayard, commander of a French army *anno* 1524, being mortally wounded in retreating from the Imperialiſts, placed himſelf under a tree, his face, however, to the enemy. The Marquis de Peſcara, general of the Imperialiſts, finding him dead in that poſture, behaved with the generoſity of a gallant adverſary: he directed his body to be embalmed, and to be ſent to his relations in the moſt honourable manner. Magnanimity and heroiſm, in which benevolence is an eſſential ingredient, are inconſiſtent with cruelty, perfidy, or any grovelling paſſion. Never was gallantry in war carried to a greater height, than between the Engliſh and Scotch borderers before the crowns were united. The night after the battle of Otterburn, the victors and vanquiſhed lay promiſcuouſly in the ſame camp, without apprehending the leaſt danger one from the other. The manners of ancient warriors were very different. Homer's hero, though ſuperior to all in bodily ſtrength, takes every advantage of his enemy, and never feels either compaſ-

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fion or remorſe. The policy of the Greeks and Romans in war, was to weaken a ſtate by plundering its territory, and deſtroying its people. Humanity with us prevails even in war. Individuals not in arms are ſecure, which ſaves much innocent blood. Priſoners were ſet at liberty upon paying a ranſom; and, by later improvements in manners, even that practice is left off as too mercantile, a more honourable practice being ſubſtituted, namely, a cartel for exchange of priſoners. Humanity was carried to a ſtill greater height, in our late war with France, by an agreement between the Duke de Noailes and the Earl of Stair, That the hoſpitals for the ſick and wounded ſoldiers ſhould be ſecure from all hoſtilities. The humanity of the Duke de Randan in the ſame war, makes an illuſtrious figure even in the preſent age, remarkable for humanity to enemies. When the French troops were compelled to abandon their conqueſts in the electorate of Hanover, their Generals every where burnt their magazines, and plundered the people. The Duke de Randan, who commanded in the city of Hanover, put the magiſtrates in poſſeſſion of his magazines, requeſting them to diſtribute the contents among the poor; and he was, beſide, extremely vigilant to prevent his ſoldiers from committing acts of violence *. I reliſh not the

* Such kindneſs in an enemy from whom nothing is expected but miſchief, is an illuſtrious inſtance of humanity. And

the brutality exercised in the present war between the Turks and Russians. The latter, to secure their winter

And a similar instance will not make the less figure that it was done by a man of inferior rank. When Mons. Thurot, during our late war with France, appeared on the coast of Scotland with three armed vessels; the terror he at first spread, soon yielded to admiration of his humanity. He paid a full price for every thing; and, in general, behaved with so much affability, that a country-man ventured to complain to him of an officer who had robbed him of fifty or sixty guineas. The officer acknowledged the fact, but said, that he had divided the money among his men. Thurot ordered the officer to give his bill for the money, which, he said, should be stopped out of his pay, if they were so fortunate as to return to France. Compare this incident with that of the great Scipio, celebrated in Roman story, who restored a beautiful young woman to her bridegroom, and it will not suffer by the comparison. Another instance is no less remarkable. One of his officers gave a bill upon a merchant in France, for the price of provisions purchased by him. Thurot having accidentally seen the bill, informed the country-man that it was of no value, reprimanded the officer bitterly for the cheat, and compelled him to give a bill upon a merchant who he knew would pay the money. At that very time, Thurot's men were in bad humour, and disposed to mutiny. In such circumstances, would not Thurot have been excused for winking at a fraud to which he was not accessory? But he acted all along with the strictest honour, even at the hazard of his life. Common honesty to an enemy is not a common practice in war. Thurot was strictly honest in circumstances that made the exertion of common honesty an act of the highest magnanimity. These incidents ought to be held up to princes as examples of true heroism. War carried on

winter quarters on the left hand of the Danube, laid waste a large territory on the right. To reduce so many people to misery merely to prevent a surprise, which can be more effectually done by strict discipline, is a barbarous remedy. But the peace concluded between these great powers, has given an opening to manners very different from what were to be expected from the fact now mentioned. This peace has been attended with signal marks not only of candour, but of courtesy. The Grand Signior, of his own accord, has dismissed from chains every Christian taken prisoner during the war; and the Empress of Russia has set at liberty 3000 Turks, with an order to set at liberty every Turk within her dominions. The necessity of fortifying towns to guard from destruction the innocent and defenceless, affords convincing evidence of the savage cruelty that prevailed in former times. By the growth of humanity, such fortifications have become less frequent: and they serve no purpose at present, but to defend against invasion; in which view a small fortification, if but sufficient for the garrison, is greatly preferable, be-

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on in that manner, would, from desolation and horror, be converted into a fair field for acquiring true military glory, and for exercising every manly virtue. I feel the greatest satisfaction, in paying this tribute of praise to the memory of that great man. He will be kept in remembrance by every true-hearted Briton, though he died fighting against us. But he died in the field of honour, fighting for his country.

ing conſtructed at a much leſs expence, and having the garriſon only to provide for.

In the progreſs of ſociety, there is commonly a remarkable period, when ſocial and diſſocial paſſions ſeem to bear equal ſway, prevailing alternately. In the hiſtory of Alexander's ſucceſſors, there are frequent inſtances of cruelty, equalling that of American ſavages; and inſtances no leſs frequent of gratitude, of generoſity, and even of clemency, that betoken manners highly poliſhed. Ptolemy of Egypt, having gained a complete victory over Demetrius, ſon of Antigonus, reſtored to him his equipage, his friends, and his domeſtics, ſaying, that "they ought not to make war for "plunder, but for glory." Demetrius having defeated one of Ptolemy's generals, was leſs delighted with the victory, than with the opportunity of rivalling his antagoniſt in humanity. The ſame Demetrius having reſtored liberty to the Athenians, was treated by them as a demi-god; and yet afterward, in his adverſity, found their gates ſhut againſt him. Upon a change of fortune, he laid ſiege to Athens, reſolving to chaſtiſe that rebellious and ungrateful people. He aſſembled the inhabitants in the theatre, ſurrounding them with his army, as preparing for a total maſſacre. Their terror was extreme, but ſhort: he pronounced their pardon, and beſtowed on them 100,000 meaſures of wheat. Ptolemy, the ſame who is mentioned above, having, at the ſiege of Tyre, ſummoned

Andronicus

Andronicus the governor to ſurrender, received a provoking and contemptuous anſwer. The town being taken, Andronicus gave himſelf up to deſpair: but the King, thinking it below his dignity to reſent an injury done to him by an inferior, now his priſoner, not only overlooked the injury, but courted Andronicus to be his friend. Edward, the Black Prince, is an inſtance of refined manners, breaking, like a ſpark of fire, through the gloom of barbarity. The Emperor Charles V. after loſing 30,000 men at the ſiege of Metz, made an ignominious retreat, leaving his camp filled with ſick and wounded, dead and dying. Though the war between him and the King of France was carried on with unuſual rancour, yet the Duke of Guiſe, governor of the town, exerted, in thoſe barbarous times, a degree of humanity that would make a ſplendid figure even at preſent. He ordered plenty of food for thoſe who were dying of hunger, appointed ſurgeons to attend the ſick and wounded, removed to the adjacent villages thoſe who could bear motion, and admitted the remainder into the hoſpitals that he had fitted up for his own ſoldiers: thoſe who recovered their health were ſent home, with money to defray the expence of the journey.

In the period that intervenes between barbarity and humanity, there are not wanting inſtances of oppoſite paſſions in the ſame perſon, governing alternately; as if a man could this moment be mild

and gentle, and next moment harſh and brutal. To vouch the truth of this obſervation, I beg leave to introduce two rival monarchs, who for many years diſtreſſed their own people, and diſturbed Europe, the Emperor Charles, and the French King Francis. The Emperor, driven by contrary winds on the coaſt of France, was invited by Francis, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, to take ſhelter in his dominions, propoſing an interview at Aigues-Mortes, a ſea-port town. The Emperor inſtantly repaired there in his galley; and Francis, relying on the Emperor's honour, viſited him on ſhipboard, and was received with every expreſſion of affection. Next day the Emperor repaid the confidence repoſed in him: he landed at Aigues-Mortes with as little precaution, and found a reception equally cordial. After twenty years of open hoſtilities or of ſecret enmity; after having formally given the lie and challenged each other to ſingle combat; after the Emperor had publicly inveighed againſt Francis as void of honour, and Francis had accuſed the Emperor as murderer of his own ſon,—a behaviour ſo open and frank will ſcarce be thought conſiſtent with human nature. But theſe monarchs lived in a period verging from cruelty to humanity; and ſuch periods abound with ſurpriſing changes of temper and behaviour. In the preſent times, changes ſo violent are unknown.

Conqueſt has not always the ſame effect upon the

the manners of the conquered. The Tartars who ſubdued China in the thirteenth century, adopted immediately the Chineſe manners: the government, laws, cuſtoms, continued without variation. And the ſame happened upon their ſecond conqueſt of China in the ſeventeenth century. The barbarous nations alſo who cruſhed the Roman empire, adopted the laws, cuſtoms, and manners, of the conquered. Very different was the fate of the Greek empire when conquered by the Turks. That warlike nation introduced every where their own laws and manners: even at this day they continue a diſtinct people as much as ever. The Tartars, as well as the barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire, were all of them rude and illiterate, deſtitute of laws, and ignorant of government. Such nations readily adopt the laws and manners of a civilized people whom they admire. The Turks had laws, and a regular government; and the Greeks, when ſubdued by them, were reduced by ſenſuality to be objects of contempt, not of imitation.

Manners are deeply affected by perſecution. The forms of procedure in the Inquiſition enable the inquiſitors to ruin whom they pleaſe. A perſon accuſed is not confronted with the accuſer: every ſort of accuſation is welcome, and from every perſon: a child, a common proſtitute, one branded with infamy, are reputable witneſſes: a man is compelled to give evidence againſt his father, and

a woman againſt her huſband. Nay, the perſons accuſed are compelled to inform againſt themſelves, by gueſſing what ſin they may have been guilty of. Such odious, cruel, and tyrannical proceedings, made all Spain tremble: every man diſtruſted his neighbour, and even his own family: a total end was put to friendſhip, and to ſocial freedom. Hence the gravity and reſerve of a people, who have naturally all the vivacity ariſing from a temperate clime and bountiful ſoil *. Hence the profound ignorance of that people, while other European nations are daily improving in every art and in every ſcience. Human nature is reduced to its loweſt ſtate, when governed by ſuperſtition clothed with power.

We proceed to another capital article in the hiſtory of manners, namely, the ſelfiſh and ſocial branches of our nature, by which manners are greatly influenced. Selfiſhneſs prevails among ſavages; becauſe corporeal pleaſures are its chief objects, and of theſe every ſavage is perfectly ſenſible. Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for a ſavage, unleſs of the ſimpleſt kind, ſuch as the ties of blood. While artificial wants were unknown, ſelfiſhneſs, though prevalent, made no capital figure: the means of gratifying the calls of

* The populace of Spain, too low game for the Inquiſition, are abundantly chearful, perhaps more ſo than thoſe of France. And I am credibly informed, that the Spaniſh woman are perpetually dancing, ſinging, laughing or talking.

of nature were in plenty; and men, who are not afraid of ever being in want, never think of providing against it; and far less do they think of coveting what belongs to another. The Caribbeans, who know no wants but what nature inspires, are amazed at the industry of the Europeans in amassing wealth. Listen to one of them expostulating with a Frenchman in the following terms: "How "miserable art thou, to expose thy person to te-"dious and dangerous voyages, and to suffer thy-"self to be oppressed with anxiety about futurity! "An inordinate appetite for wealth is thy bane; "and yet thou art no less tormented in preserving "the goods thou hast acquired, than in acquiring "more: fear of robbery or shipwreck suffers thee "not to enjoy a quiet moment. Thus thou grow-"est old in thy youth, thy hair turns gray, thy "forehead is wrinkled, a thousand ailments afflict "thy body, a thousand distresses surround thy "heart, and thou moveft with painful hurry to the "grave. Why art thou not content with what "thy own country produceth? Why not contemn "superfluities, as we do?" But men are not long contented with simple necessaries: an unwearied appetite to be more and more comfortably provided, leads them from necessaries to conveniences, and from these to every sort of luxury. Avarice turns headstrong; and locks and bars, formerly unknown, become necessary to protect people from the rapacity of their neighbours. When the goods

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of fortune, money in particular, come to be prized, ſelfiſhneſs ſoon diſplays itſelf. In Madagaſcar, a man who makes a preſent of an ox or a calf, expects the value in return; and ſcruples not to ſay, "You my friend, I your friend; you no my friend, "I no your friend; I ſalamanca you, you ſala-"manca me*." Admiral Watſon being introduced to the king of Baba, in Madagaſcar, was aſked by his Majeſty, What preſents he had brought? Hence the cuſtom, univerſal among barbarians, of always accoſting a king, or any man of high rank, with preſents. Sir John Chardin ſays, that this cuſtom goes through all Aſia. It is reckoned an honour to receive preſents: they are received in public; and a time is choſen when the crowd is greateſt. It is a maxim too refined for the potentates of Aſia, that there is more honour in beſtowing than in receiving.

The peculiar excellence of man above all other animals, is the capacity he has of improving by education and example. In proportion as his faculties refine, he acquires a reliſh for ſociety, and finds a pleaſure in benevolence, generoſity, and in every other kindly affection, far above what ſelfiſhneſs can afford. How agreeable is this ſcene! Alas, too agreeable to be laſting. Opulence and luxury inflame the hording appetite; and ſelfiſhneſs at laſt prevails as it did originally. The ſelfiſhneſs, however, of ſavages differs from that of pampered people. Luxury confining a man's whole views

* Salamanca means the making a preſent.

views to himſelf, admits not of friendſhip, and ſcarce of any other ſocial paſſion. But where a ſavage takes a liking to a particular perſon, the whole force of his ſocial affection being directed to a ſingle object, becomes extremely fervid. Hence the unexampled friendſhip between Achilles and Patroclus in the Iliad; and hence many ſuch friendſhips among ſavages.

But there is much more to be ſaid of the influence of opulence on manners. Rude and illiterate nations are tenacious of their laws and manners; for they are governed by cuſtom, which is more and more rivetted by length of time. A people, on the contrary, who are poliſhed by having paſſed through various ſcenes, are full of invention, and conſtantly thinking of new modes. Manners, in particular, can never be ſtationary in a nation refined by proſperity and the arts of peace. Good government will advance men to a high degree of civilization; but the very beſt government will not preſerve them from corruption, after becoming rich by proſperity. Opulence begets luxury, and envigorates the appetite for ſenſual pleaſure. The appetite, when inflamed, is never confined within moderate bounds, but clings to every object of gratification, without regard to propriety or decency. When Septimius Severus was elected Emperor, he found on the roll of cauſes depending before the judges in Rome no fewer than three thouſand accuſations of adultery. From that moment

ment he abandoned all thoughts of a reformation. Love of pleasure is similar to love of money: the more it is indulged the more it is inflamed. Polygamy is an incentive to the vice against nature; one act of incontinence leading to others without end. When the Sultan Achmet was deposed at Constantinople, the people, breaking into the house of one of his favourites, found not a single woman. It is reported of the Algerines, that in many of their seraglios there are no women. For the same reason polygamy is far from preventing adultery, a truth finely illustrated in Nathan's parable to David. What judgment, then, are we to form of the opulent cities, London and Paris, where pleasure is the ruling passion, and where riches are coveted as instruments of sensuality? What is to be expected but a pestiferous corruption of manners? Selfishness, ingrossing the whole soul, eradicates patriotism, and leaves not a cránny for social virtue. If in that condition men abstain from robbery or from murder, it is not love of justice that restrains them, but dread of punishment. Babylon is arraigned by Greek writers for luxury, sensuality, and profligacy. But Babylon represents the capital of every opulent kingdom, ancient and modern: the manners of all are the same; for power and riches never fail to produce luxury, sensuality, and profligacy *. Canghi,

* In Paris and London, people of fashion are incessantly running after pleasure, without ever attaining it. Dissatisfied with

ghi, Emperor of China, who died in the year 1722, deſerves to be recorded in the annals of fame, for reſiſting the ſoftneſs and effeminacy of an Aſiatic court. Far from abandoning himſelf to ſenſual pleaſure, he paſſed ſeveral months yearly in the mountains of Tartary, moſtly on horſeback, and declining no fatigue. Nor in that ſituation were affairs of ſtate neglected: many hours he borrowed from ſleep, to hear his miniſters, and to iſſue orders. How few monarchs, bred up like Canghi in the downy indolence of a ſeraglio, have reſolution to withſtand the temptations of ſenſual pleaſure!

In no other hiſtory is the influence of proſperity and opulence on manners ſo conſpicuous as in that of old Rome. During the ſecond Punic war, when the Romans were reduced by Hannibal to fight *pro aris et focis*, Hiero, King of Syracuſe, ſent to Rome a large quantity of corn, with a golden ſtatue of Victory weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, which the ſenate accepted. But, though their finances were at the loweſt ebb, they accepted but the lighteſt of forty golden vaſes preſented to them by the city of Naples; and politely returned, with many thanks, ſome golden vaſes ſent by the city of Pæſtum, in Lucania: a rare inſtance of magnanimity. But no degree of virtue is proof againſt

with the preſent, they fondly imagine that a new purſuit will relieve them. Life thus paſſes like a dream, with no enjoyment but what ariſes from expectation.

against the corruption of conquest and opulence. Upon the influx of Asiatic riches and luxury, the Romans abandoned themselves to every vice: they became, in particular, wonderfully avaricious, breaking through every restraint of justice and humanity *. Spain in particular, which abounded with gold and silver, was for many years a scene, not only of oppression and cruelty, but of the basest treachery, practised against the natives by successive Roman generals, in order to accumulate wealth. Lucullus, who afterwards made a capital figure in the Mithridatic war, attacked Cauca, a Celtiberian city, without the slightest provocation. Some of the principal citizens repaired to his camp with olive branches, desiring to be informed upon what conditions they could purchase his friendship. It was agreed that they should give hostages, with a hundred talents of silver. They also consented to admit a garrison of 2000 men, in order, said Lucullus, to protect them against their enemies. But how were they protected? The gates were opened by the

* "Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœperunt, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci, cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria, atque avaritia, cum superbia invasere." *Sallust. Bell. Cat. c.* 12.—[*In English thus*: "After "it had become an honour to be rich, and glory, empire, and "power, became the attendants of riches, virtue declined "apace, poverty was reckoned disgraceful, and innocence "was held secret malice. Thus to the introduction of riches "our youth owe their luxury, their avarice, and pride."]

the garrison to the whole army; and the inhabitants were butchered, without distinction of sex or age. What other remedy had they, but to invoke the gods presiding over oaths and covenants, and to pour out execrations against the Romans for their perfidy? Lucullus, enriched with the spoils of the town, felt no remorse for leaving 20,000 persons dead upon the spot. Shortly after, having laid siege to Intercatia, he solicited a treaty of peace. The citizens reproaching him with the slaughter of the Cauceans, asked, Whether, in making peace, he was not to employ the same right hand, and the same faith, he had already pledged to their countrymen? Seroclius Galba, another Roman general, persuaded the Lusitanians to lay down their arms, promising them a fruitful territory instead of their own mountains; and having thus got them into his power, he ordered all of them to be murdered. Of the few that escaped, Viriathus was one, who, in a long and bloody war against the Romans, amply avenged the massacre of his countrymen. Our author Appian reports, that Galba, surpassing even Lucullus in covetousness, distributed but a small share of the plunder among the soldiers, converting the bulk of it to his own use. He adds, that though Galba was one of the richest men in Rome, yet he never scrupled at lies nor perjury to procure money. But the corruption was general: Galba being accused of many misdemeanours, was acquited by the senate, through

through the force of bribes. A tribe of the Celtiberians, who had long ſerved the Romans againſt the Luſitanians, had an offer made them by Titus Didius of a territory in their neighbourhood, lately conquered by him. He appointed them a day to receive poſſeſſion; and having incloſed them in his camp, under ſhow of friendſhip, he put them all to the ſword; for which mighty deed he obtained the honour of a triumph. The double-dealing and treachery of the Romans, in their laſt war againſt Carthage, is beyond example. The Carthaginians, ſuſpecting that a ſtorm was gathering againſt them, ſent deputies to Rome for ſecuring peace at any rate. The ſenate, in appearance, were diſpoſed to amicable meaſures, demanding only hoſtages; and yet, though three hundred hoſtages were delivered without loſs of time, the Roman army landed at Utica. The Carthaginian deputies attended the Conſuls there, deſiring to know what more was to be done on their part. They were required to deliver up their arms; which they chearfully did, imagining that they were now certain of peace. Inſtead of which, they received peremptory orders to evacuate the city, with their wives and children, and to make no ſettlement within eighty furlongs of the ſea. In peruſing Appian's hiſtory of that memorable event, compaſſion for the diſtreſſed Carthaginians is ſtifled by indignation at their treacherous oppreſſors. Could the monſters, after ſuch treachery, have the impudence

dence to talk of *Punica fides?* The profligacy of the Roman people, during the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, is painted in lively colours by the same author. "For a long time, disorder and confusion overspread the commonwealth: no office was obtained but by faction, bribery, or criminal service: no man was ashamed to buy votes, which were sold in open market. One man there was, who, to obtain a lucrative office, expended eight hundred talents*: ill men enriched themselves with public money, or with bribes: no honest man would stand candidate for an office; and, into a situation so miserable was the commonwealth reduced, that once for eight months it had not a single magistrate." Cicero, writing to Atticus, that Clodius was acquitted by the influence of Crassus, expresses himself in the following words: "Biduo, per unum servum, et eum ex gladiatorio ludo, confecit totum negotium. Accersivit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Jam verò, O dii boni, rem perditam! etiam noctes certarum mulierum, atque adolescentulorum nobilium, introductiones nonnullis judicibus pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt†." Ptolomy, King of Egypt, was dethroned

* About L. 150,000 Sterling.

† "In two days he completed the affair, by the means of one slave, a gladiator. He sent for him, and by promises, wheedling,

ned by his ſubjects for tyranny. Having repaired to Rome for protection, he found means to poiſon the greater part of a hundred Egyptians, his accuſers, and to aſſaſſinate Dion their chief. And yet theſe crimes, perpetrated in the heart of Rome, were ſuffered to paſs with impunity. But he had ſecured the leading men by money, and was protected by Pompey. The following inſtance is, if poſſible, ſtill more groſs. Ptolomy, King of Cyprus, had always been a faithful ally to the Romans. But his gold, jewels, and precious moveables, were a tempting bait: and all was confiſcated by a decree of the people, without even a pretext. Money procured by profligacy is not commonly hoarded up; and the Romans were no leſs voluptuous than avaricious. Alexander ab Alexandro mentions the Fanian, Orchian, Didian, Oppian, Cornelian, Ancian, and Julian laws, for repreſſing luxury of dreſs and of eating, all of which proved ineffectual. He adds, that Tiberius had it long at heart to contrive ſome effectual law againſt luxury, which now had ſurpaſſed all bounds, but that he found it impracticable to ſtem the tide. He concludes, that by tacit agreement among

"wheedling, and large gifts, he gained his point. Good "God, to what an infamous height has corruption at length "arrived! Some judges were rewarded with a night's lodg-"ing of certain ladies; and others, for an illuſtrious bribe, "had ſome young boys of noble family introduced to them." —Lib. i. epiſt. 13.

among a corrupted people, all ſumptuary laws were in effect abrogated; and that the Roman people, abandoning themſelves to vice, broke through every reſtraint of morality and religion*. Tremble, O Britain, on the brink of a precipice! how little diſtant in rapacity from Roman ſenators are the leaders of thy people †!

The free ſtates of Italy, which had become rich by commerce, employed mercenary troops to ſave their own people, who were more profitably employed at home. But, as mercenaries gained nothing by victory or bloodſhed, they did very little execution againſt one another. They exhauſted the ſtates which employed them, without doing

* Lib. iii. cap. 11.

† Down on your knees, my countrymen, down on your knees, and render God thanks from the bottom of your hearts, for a Miniſter very different from his immediate predeceſſors. Untainted with luxury or avarice, his talents are dedicated to his King and his country. Nor was there ever a period in Britain, when prudence and diſcernment in a Miniſter were more neceſſary than in the preſent year 1775. Our colonies, pampered with proſperity, aim at no leſs than independence, and have broken out into every extravagance. The caſe is extremely delicate, it appearing equally dangerous to pardon or to puniſh. Hitherto the moſt ſalutary meaſures have been proſecuted; and we have great reaſon to hope a happy iſſue equally ſatisfactory to both parties. But tremble ſtill, O Britain, on the brink of a precipice! Our hold of that eminent Miniſter is ſadly precarious; and, in a nation as deeply ſunk in ſelfiſhneſs as formerly it was exalted by patriotiſm, how ſmall is our chance of a ſucceſſor equal to him!

any real ſervice. Our condition is in ſome degree ſimilar. We employ generals and admirals, who, by great appointments, ſoon loſe reliſh for glory, intent only to prolong a war for their own benefit. According to our preſent manners, where luxury and ſelfiſhneſs prevail, it appears an egregious blunder, to enrich a general or admiral during his command: have we any reaſon to expect, that he will fight like one whoſe fortune depends on his good behaviour? This ſingle error againſt good policy has reduced Britain more than once to a low condition, and will prove its ruin at laſt.

Riches produce another lamentable effect: they enervate the poſſeſſor, and degrade him into a coward. He who commands the labour of others, who eats without hunger, and reſts without fatigue, becomes feeble in mind as well as in body, has no confidence in his own abilities, and is reduced to flatter his enemies, becauſe he hath not courage to brave them.

Selfiſhneſs among the rude and illiterate is rough, blunt, and undiſguiſed. Selfiſhneſs, which in an opulent kingdom uſurps the place of patriotiſm, is ſmooth, refined, and covered with a veil. Pecuniary intereſt, a low object, muſt be covered with the thickeſt veil: ambition, leſs diſhonourable, is leſs covered: but delicacy as to character and love of fame, are ſo honourable, that even the thinneſt veil is held unneceſſary. Hiſtory juſtifies theſe obſervations. During the proſperity of Greece

and

and Rome, when patriotiſm was the ruling paſſion, no man ever thought of employing a hoſtile weapon but againſt the enemies of his country: ſwords were not worn during peace, nor was there an inſtance of a private duel. The frequency of duels in modern times, is no ſlight ſymptom of degeneracy: regardleſs of our country, ſelfiſhneſs is exerted without diſguiſe when reputation or character is in queſtion; and a nice ſenſe of honour prompts revenge for every imagined affront, without regard to juſtice. How much more manly and patriotic was the behaviour of Themiſtocles, when inſulted by the Lacedemonian general in deliberating about the concerns of Greece! "Strike," ſays he, "but firſt hear me *."

* Is duelling a crime by the law of nature? A diſtinction is neceſſary. If two men, bent to deſtroy each of them the other, meet armed, and one or both be ſlain, the act is highly criminal: it is murder in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word. If they appoint time and place to execute their murderous purpoſe, ſuch agreement will not be more innocent than an agreement among a band of robbers to attack every paſſenger: they will be abhorred as unfit for civil ſociety. A duel which an affront forces a man upon for vindicating his honour, when no ſatisfaction is offered, or no proper ſatisfaction, is very different. I cannot ſee that the perſon affronted is guilty of any crime; and, if the perſon who gave the affront have offered what he thinks full ſatisfaction, I ſee no crime on either ſide. The parties have agreed to decide their quarrel in the honourable way, and no other perſon is hurt. If it be urged, that duelling is a crime againſt the ſtate, which is intereſted

When a nation, formerly in prosperity, is depressed by luxury and selfishness, what follows next?

terested in the lives of its subjects, I answer, that individuals are entitled to be protected by the state; but that if two men, waving that protection, agree to end the dispute by single combat, the state has no concern. There is nothing inconsistent with the laws of society, that men, in an affair of honour, should reserve the privilege of a duel; and, for that reason, the privilege may be justly understood as reserved by every man when he enters into society. I admit, that the using the privilege on every slight occasion, cannot be too much discouraged; but such discouragement, if duelling be not criminal, belongs to a court of police, not to a court of law. What then shall be said of our statutes, which punish with death and confiscation of moveables those who fight a single combat without the King's licence; and which punish even the giving or accepting a challenge with banishment and confiscation of moveables? Where a man thinks his honour at stake, fear of death will not deter him from seeking redress: nor is an alternative left him, as the bearing a gross affront is highly dishonourable in the opinion of all the world. Have we not instances without number, of men adhering to the supposed orthodoxy of their religious tenets, unawed by flames and gibbets? How absurd, then, is it in our legislature to punish a man for doing what is indispensable, if he wish to avoid contempt? Laws that contradict honest principles, or even honest prejudices, never are effectual: nature revolts against them. And, it is believed, that these statutes have never been effectual in any one instance, unless perhaps to furnish an excuse for declining a single combat.

As duelling falls under censorian powers, the proper censure for rashness or intemperance in duelling, is disgrace, not death

next? Let the Egyptians anſwer the queſtion. That unhappy people, having for many ages been

death or confiſcation of moveables. In that view, the following, or ſome ſuch plan, may be adopted. It appears, from the ſtatute firſt mentioned, to be a branch of the royal prerogative, to licenſe a duel. Therefore, if an affront be ſo groſs, as in the perſon's opinion not to admit of any reparation but a duel, let him be entitled to apply to his Majeſty for liberty to give a challenge. In Britain formerly, and through all Europe, ſingle combat was a legal method of determining controverſies, even in matters of right and wrong; and there is great reaſon for continuing that law, with reſpect to matters of honour. If the King have any doubt whether other reparation may not be ſufficient, he is to name three military officers who have ſerved with honour for twenty years, granting to them full powers, as a court of honour, to judge of the application; and upon calling the parties before them, to pronounce ſentence. If a duel be judged neceſſary, it muſt be done in preſence of the court, with proper ſolemnities. Obedience will of courſe be given to this judgment; becauſe to decline it would be attended with public infamy. If other reparation be enjoined, the party who ſtands out ſhall be declared infamous; unworthy for ever of the privilege of a duel; which ought to ſatisfy the other party, as he comes off with honour. If, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the court, they afterward proceed to a duel, and both be killed, the public gains by having two quarrelſome men removed out of the way. If one of them be killed, the ſurvivor ſhall be incapable of any public office, civil or military, ſhall be incapable of electing or being elected a member of parliament, ſhall be prohibited to wear a ſword, ſhall forfeit his title of honour, and have his arms erazed out of the herald's regiſter. If both ſurvive, this cenſure ſhall reach both. Degrading cen-

ſures

a prey to every barbarous invader, are now become effeminate, treacherous, cruel, and corrupted with every vice that debaſes humanity. A nation in its infancy, however ſavage, is ſuſceptible of every improvement; but a nation worn out with age and diſeaſe is ſuſceptible of no improvement. There is no remedy, but to let the natives die out, and to repeople the country with better men. Egypt has for many ages been in the ſame languid and ſervile ſtate. An Arabian author, who wrote the hiſtory of the great Saladin, obſerves, that the Egyptians never thought of ſupporting the monarch in poſſeſſion, but tamely ſubmitted to every conqueror. "It was," ſays he, "the cuſtom in Egypt "at that time to deliver to the victor the enſigns "of royalty, without ever thinking of inquiring "into his title." What better than a flock of ſheep,

ſures which diſgrace a man, are the only proper puniſhment in an affair of honour. The tranſgreſſion of the act of Parliament, by fighting privately without licence from the King, ſhall be attended with the ſame degrading puniſhments.

It is a capital circumſtance, that the court of honour has power to authoriſe a duel. A man groſsly affronted will not be eaſily perſuaded to ſubmit his cauſe to a court that cannot decree him adequate reparation; and this probably is the cauſe why the court of honour in France has fallen into contempt. But they muſt be perverſe indeed, or horribly obſtinate, who decline a court which can decree them ample reparation. At the ſame time, the neceſſity of applying for a court of honour affords time for paſſion to ſubſide, and for friends to bring about a reconciliation.

ſheep, obedient to the call of the preſent ſhepherd!

I fly from a ſcene ſo diſmal to one that will give no pain. Light is intended by our Maker for action, and darkneſs for reſt. In the fourteenth century, the ſhops in Paris were opened at four in the morning: at preſent, a ſhopkeeper is ſcarce awake at ſeven. The King of France dined at eight in the morning, and retired to his bed-chamber at the ſame hour in the evening; an early hour at preſent for public amuſements *. The Spainards adhere to ancient cuſtoms †. Their King to this day dines preciſely at noon, and ſups no leſs preciſely at nine in the evening. During the reign of Henry VIII. faſhionable people in England breakfaſted at ſeven in the morning, and dined at ten in the forenoon. In Elizabeth's time, the nobility, gentry, and ſtudents, dined at eleven forenoon, and ſupped between five and ſix afternoon. In the reign of Charles II. four in the afternoon was the appointed hour for acting plays. At preſent, even dinner is at a later hour. The King of Yeman,

* Louis XII. of France, after taking for his ſecond wife Mary, ſiſter to Henry VIII. of England, much under him in years, totally changed his manner of living. Inſtead of dining at eight in the morning, he now dined at mid-day: inſtead of going to bed at ſix in the evening, he now frequently ſat up till midnight.

† Manners and faſhions ſeldom change where women are locked up.

Yeman, the greateſt prince in Arabia Felix, dines at nine in the morning, ſups at five afternoon, and goes to reſt at eleven. From this ſhort ſpecimen it appears, that the occupations of day-light commence gradually later and later; as if there were a tendency in polite nations, of converting night into day, and day into night. Nothing happens without a cauſe. Light diſpoſes to action, darkneſs to reſt: the diverſions of day are tournaments, tennis, hunting, racing, and other active exerciſes: the diverſions of night are ſedentary; plays, cards, converſation. Balls are of a mixed nature, partly active in dancing, partly ſedentary in converſing. Formerly, active exerciſes prevailed among a robuſt and plain people *: the milder pleaſures of ſociety prevail as manners refine. Hence it is, that candle-light amuſements are now faſhionable in France, and in other poliſhed countries; and when ſuch amuſements are much reliſhed, they baniſh the robuſt exerciſes of the field. Balls, I conjecture, were formerly more frequent in day-light: at preſent, candle-light is their favourite time: the active part is at that time equally agreeable; and the ſedentary part, more ſo.

Gaming is the vice of idle people. Savages are addicted to gaming; and thoſe of North America in

* The exerciſes that our forefathers delighted in were ſo violent as that, in the days of Henry II. of England, cock-fighting and horſe-racing were deſpiſed as unmanly and childiſh amuſements.

in particular are fond to diſtraction of a game termed *the platter*. A loſing gameſter will ſtrip himſelf to the ſkin; and ſome have been known to ſtake their liberty, though by them valued above all other bleſſings. Negoes on the ſlave-coaſt of Guinea, will ſtake their wives, their children, and even themſelves. Tacitus, talking of gaming among the Germans, ſays, "Extremo ac noviſſimo "jactu, de libertate et de corpore contendant*." The Greeks were an active and ſprightly people, conſtantly engaged in war, or in cultivating the fine arts. They had no leiſure for gaming, nor any knowledge of it. Happy for them was their ignorance; for no other vice tends more to render men ſelfiſh, diſhoneſt, and, in the modiſh ſtyle, diſhonourable. A gameſter, a friend to no man, is a bitter enemy to himſelf. The luxurious of the preſent age, paſs every hour in gaming that can be ſpared from ſenſual pleaſure. Idleneſs is their excuſe, as it is among ſavages; and they would in ſome degree be excuſable, were they never actuated by a more diſgraceful motive.

Writers do not carefully diſtinguiſh particular cuſtoms from general manners. Formerly, women were not admitted upon the ſtage in France, Italy, or England: at that very time, none but women were admitted in Spain. From that faſhion it would be raſh to infer, that women have more liberty

* "For their laſt throw they ſtake their liberty and life." —De Moribus Germanorum, c. 24.

berty in Spain than in the other countries mentioned; for the contrary is true. In Hindoſtan, eſtabliſhed cuſtom prompts women to burn themſelves alive with the bodies of their deceaſed huſbands; but from that ſingular cuſtom, it would be a falſe inference, that the Hindoo women are either more bold, or more affectionate to their huſbands, than in other countries. The Polanders, even after they became Chriſtians in the thirteenth century, adhered to the cuſtoms of their foreſathers, the Sarmatians, in killing infants born deformed, and men debilitated by age; which would betoken horrid barbarity, if it were not a ſingular cuſtom. Roman Catholics imagine, that there is no religion in England nor in Holland; becauſe, from a ſpirit of civil liberty, all ſects are there tolerated. The encouragement given to aſſaſſination in Italy, where every church is a ſanctuary, makes ſtrangers raſhly infer, that the Italians are all aſſaſſins. Writers ſometimes fall into an oppoſite miſtake, attributing to a particular nation, certain manners and cuſtoms common to all nations in one or other period of their progreſs. It is remarked by Heraclides Ponticus as peculiar to the Athamanes, that the men fed the flocks, and the women cultivated the ground. This has been the practice of all nations, in their progreſs from the ſhepherd-ſtate to that of huſbandry; and is at preſent the practice among American ſavages. The ſame author obſerves, as peculiar to the Celtæ and Aphitæi,

tæi, that they leave their doors open without hazard of theft. But that practice is common among all ſavages in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, before the uſe of money is known.

Hitherto there appears as great uniformity in the progreſs of manners, as can reaſonably be expected among ſo many different nations. There is one exception, extraordinary indeed if true, which is, the manners of the Caledonians deſcribed by Oſſian, manners ſo pure and refined as ſcarce to be paralleled in the moſt cultivated nations. Such manners among a people in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, acquainted with no arts but hunting and making war, I acknowledge, miraculous. And yet to ſuppoſe theſe manners to be the invention of an illiterate ſavage, is really no leſs miraculous: I ſhould as ſoon expect from a ſavage a performance equal to the elements of Euclid, or even to the *Principia* of Newton. One, at firſt view, will boldly declare the whole a modern fiction; for how is it credible, that a people, rude at preſent and illiterate, were, in the infancy of their ſociety, highly refined in ſentiment and manners? And yet, upon a more accurate inſpection, many weighty conſiderations occur to balance that opinion.

From a thouſand circumſtances it appears, that the works of Oſſian are not a late production. They are compoſed in an old dialect of the Celtic tongue; and as, till lately, they were known only in

in the highlands of Scotland, the author muſt have been a Caledonian. The tranſlator * ſaw, in the Iſle of Sky, the firſt four books of the poem Fingal, written in a fair hand on vellum, and bearing date in the year 1403. The natives believe that poem to be very ancient: every perſon has paſſages of it by heart, tranſmitted by memory from their forefathers. Their dogs bear commonly the name of *Luath*, *Bran*, &c. mentioned in theſe poems, as our dogs do of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* †. Many other particulars might be mentioned; but theſe are ſufficient to prove, that the work muſt have exiſted at leaſt three or four centuries. Taking that for granted, I proceed to certain conſiderations tending to evince, that the manners deſcribed in Oſſian were Caledonian manners, and not a pure fiction. And, after peruſing with attention theſe conſiderations, I am not afraid that even the moſt incredulous will continue altogether unſhaken.

It is a noted and well-founded obſervation, That manners are never painted to the life by any one to whom they are not familiar. It is not difficult to

* Mr Macpherſon.

† In the Iſle of Sky, the ruins of the Caſtle of Dunſcaich, upon an abrupt rock hanging over the ſea, are ſtill viſible. That caſtle, as vouched by tradition, belonged to Cuchullin, Lord of that iſle, whoſe hiſtory is recorded in the Poem of Fingal. Upon the green before the caſtle there is a great ſtone, to which, according to the ſame tradition, his dog Luath was chained.

to draw the outlines of imaginary manners; but to fill up the picture with all the variety of tints that manners assume in different circumstances, uniting all concordantly in one whole—*hic labor, hoc opus est.* Yet the manners here supposed to be invented, are delineated in a variety of incidents, of sentiments, of images, and of allusions, making one entire picture, without once deviating into the slightest incongruity. Every scene in Ossian relates to hunting, to fighting, or to love, the sole occupations of men in the original state of society: there is not a single image, simile, or allusion, but what is borrowed from that state, without a jarring circumstance.—Supposing all to be mere invention, is it not amazing to find no mention of Highland clans, or of any name now in use? Is it not still more amazing, that there is not the slightest hint of the Christian religion, not even in a metaphor or allusion? Is it not equally amazing, that, in a work where deer's flesh is frequently mentioned, and a curious method of roasting it, there should not be a word of fish as food, so common in later times? Very few Highlanders know that their forefathers did not eat fish; and, supposing it to be known, it would require singular attention, never to let a hint of it enter the poem. Can it be supposed, that a modern writer could be so constantly on his guard, as never to mention corn nor cattle? In a story so scanty of poetical images, the sedentary life of a shepherd, and

and the induſtry of a huſbandman, would make a capital figure: the cloven foot would ſomewhere peep out. And yet, in all the works of Oſſian, there is no mention of agriculture; and but a ſlight hint of a herd of cattle in one or two alluſions. I willingly give all advantages to the unbeliever: Suppoſing the author of Oſſian to be a late writer, adorned with every refinement of modern education; yet, even upon that ſuppoſition, he is a miracle, far from being equalled by any other author ancient or modern.

But difficulties multiply when it is taken into the account, that the poems of Oſſian have exiſted three or four centuries at leaſt. Our highlanders at preſent are rude and illiterate; and were in fact little better than ſavages at the period mentioned. Now, to hold the manners deſcribed in that work to be imaginary, is in effect to hold, that they were invented by a highland ſavage, acquainted with the rude manners of his country, but utterly unacquainted with every other ſyſtem of manners. The manners of different countries are now ſo well known as to make it an eaſy taſk to invent manners by blending the manners of one country with thoſe of another; but to invent manners of which the author has no example, and yet neither whimſical nor abſurd, but congruous to human nature in its moſt poliſhed ſtate, I pronounce to be far above the powers of man. Is it ſo much as ſuppoſable, that ſuch a work could be the production of a Tar-

tar,

tar, or of a Hottentot? From what ſource then did Oſſian draw the refined manners ſo deliciouſly painted by him: Suppoſing him to have been a traveller, of which we have not the ſlighteſt hint, the manners of France at that period, of Italy, and of other neighbouring nations, were little leſs barbarous than thoſe of his own country. I can diſcover no ſource but inſpiration. In a word, whoever ſeriouſly believes the manners of Oſſian to be fictitious, may well ſay, with the religious enthuſiaſt, "*Credo quia impoſſibile eſt:* I believe it be-" cauſe it is impoſſible."

But further: The uncommon talents of the author of this work will cheerfully be acknowledged by every reader of taſte: he certainly was a great maſter in his way. Now, whether the work be late, or compoſed four centuries ago, a man of ſuch talents inventing a hiſtorical fable, and laying the ſcene of action among ſavages in the hunter-ſtate, would naturally frame a ſyſtem of manners the beſt ſuited in his opinion to that ſtate. What then could tempt him to adopt a ſyſtem of manners, ſo oppoſite to any notion he could form of ſavage manners? The abſurdity is ſo groſs, that we are forced, however reluctantly, to believe, that theſe manners are not fictitious, but in reality the manners of his country, coloured perhaps, or a little heightened, according to the privilege of an epic poet. And once admitting that fact, there can be no heſitation in aſcribing the work to Oſſian, ſon

of Fingal, whoſe name it bears: we have no better evidence for the authors of ſeveral Greek and Roman books. Upon the ſame evidence, we muſt believe, that Oſſian lived in the reign of the Emperor Caracalla, of whom frequent mention is made under the deſignation of *Caracul the Great King;* at which period, the ſhepherd-ſtate was ſcarce known in Caledonia, and huſbandry not at all. Had he lived ſo late as the twelfth century, when there were flocks and herds in that country, and ſome ſort of agriculture, a poet of genius, ſuch as Oſſian undoubtedly was, would have drawn from theſe his fineſt images.

The foregoing conſiderations, I am perſuaded, would not fail to convert the moſt incredulous; were it not for a conſequence extremely improbable, that a people, little better at preſent than ſavages, were in their primitive hunter-ſtate highly refined; for ſuch Oſſian deſcribes them. And yet it is no leſs improbable, that ſuch manners ſhould be invented by an illiterate highland bard. Let a man chuſe either ſide, the difficulty cannot be ſolved but by a ſort of miracle. What ſhall we conclude upon the whole? for the mind cannot for ever remain in ſuſpenſe. As dry reaſoning has left us in a dilemma, taſte perhaps and feeling may extricate us. May not the caſe be here as in real painting? A portrait drawn from fancy, may reſemble the human viſage; but ſuch peculiarity of countenance and expreſſion as ſerves to diſtinguiſh

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a certain perſon from every other, is always wanting. Preſent a portrait to a man of taſte, and he will be at no loſs to ſay, whether it be copied from life, or be the product of fancy. If Oſſian paint from fancy, the cloven foot will appear: but if his portraits be complete, ſo as to expreſs every peculiarity of character, why ſhould we doubt of their being copied from life? In that view, the reader, I am hopeful, will not think his time thrown away in examining ſome of Oſſian's ſtriking pictures. I perceive not another reſource.

Love of fame is painted by Oſſian as the ruling paſſion of his countrymen the Caledonians. Warriors are every where deſcribed, as eſteeming it their chief happineſs to be recorded in the ſongs of the bards: that feature is never wanting in any of Oſſian's heroes. Take the following inſtances.

"King of the roaring Strumon, ſaid the riſing joy of Fin-
"gal, do I behold thee in arms after thy ſtrength has failed?
"Often hath Morni ſhone in battles, like the beam of the ri-
"ſing ſun, when he diſperſes the ſtorms of the hill, and
"brings peace to the glittering fields. But why didſt thou
"not reſt in thine age? Thy renown is in the ſong: the
"people behold thee, and bleſs the departure of mighty
"Morni *." "Son of Fingal, he ſaid, why burns the ſoul
"of Gaul? My heart beats high: my ſteps are diſordered;
"and my hand trembles on my ſword. When I look to-
"ward the foe, my ſoul lightens before me, and I ſee their
"ſleeping hoſt. Tremble thus the ſouls of the valiant, in
"battles of the ſpear? How would the ſoul of Morni riſe, if

 "we

* Lathmon.

" we ſhould ruſh on the foe! Our renown would grow in the " ſong, and our ſteps be ſtately in the eye of the brave *."

That a warrior has acquired his fame is a conſolation in every diſtreſs:

" Carril, ſaid the King in ſecret, the ſtrength of Cuchullin " fails. My days are with the years that are paſt; and no " morning of mine ſhall ariſe. They ſhall ſeek me at Temo- " ra, but I ſhall not be found. Cormac will weep in his hall, " and ſay, Where is Tura's chief? But my name is renown- " ed, my fame in the ſong of bards. The youth will ſay, *O* " *let me die as Cuchullin died: renown clothed him like a robe; and* " *the light of his fame is great.* Draw the arrow from my ſide; " and lay Cuchullin below that oak. Place the ſhield of " Caithbat near, that they may behold me amid the arms of " my fathers †."

Fingal ſpeaks:

" Ullin, my aged bard, take the ſhip of the King. Carry " Oſcar to Selma, and let the daughters of Morven weep. " We ſhall fight in Erin for the race of fallen Cormac. The " days of my years begin to fail: I feel the weakneſs of my " arm.

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* Lathmon.

Love of fame is a laudable paſſion, which every man values himſelf upon. Fame in war is acquired by courage and candour, which are eſteemed by all. It is not acquired by fighting for ſpoil, becauſe avarice is deſpiſed by all. The ſpoils of an enemy were diſplayed at a Roman triumph, not for their own ſake, but as a mark of victory. When nations at war degenerate from love of fame to love of gain, ſtratagem, deceit, breach of faith, and every ſort of immorality, are never-failing conſequences.

† The death of Cuchullin.

" arm. My fathers bend from their clouds to receive their " gray-hair'd ſon. But, Trenmor! before I go hence, one " beam of my fame ſhall riſe: in fame ſhall my days end, as " my years began: my life ſhall be one ſtream of light to " other times *."

Oſſian ſpeaks:

" Did thy beauty laſt, O Ryno! ſtood the ſtrength of car- " borne Oſcar †! Fingal himſelf paſſed away, and the halls " of his fathers forgot his ſteps. And ſhalt thou remain, aged " bard, when the mighty have failed? But my fame ſhall " remain; and grow like the oak of Morven, which lifts its " broad head to the ſtorm, and rejoiceth in the courſe of the " wind ‡."

The chief cauſe of affliction when a young man is cut off in battle, is his not having received his fame:

" And fell the ſwifteſt in the race, ſaid the King, the firſt " to bend the bow? Thou ſcarce haſt been known to me; " why did young Ryno fall? But ſleep thou ſoftly on Lena, " Fingal ſhall ſoon behold thee. Soon ſhall my voice be " heard no more, and my footſteps ceaſe to be ſeen. The " bards will tell of Fingal's name; the ſtones will talk of me. " But, Ryno! thou art low indeed, thou haſt not received thy

 fame.

* Temora.

† Several of Oſſian's heroes are deſcribed as fighting in cars. The Britons, in general, fought in that manner. " Britanni " demicant non equitatu modo, aut pedite, verùm et bigis et " curribus;" *Pomponius Mela, l. 3.*—[*In Engliſh thus:* " The " Britons fight, not only with cavalry, or foot, but alſo with " cars and chariots."]

‡ Berrathon.

" fame. Ullin, ſtrike the harp for Ryno; tell what the chief " would have been. Farewell thou firſt in every field. No " more ſhall I direct thy dart. Thou that haſt been ſo fair; " I behold thee not.——Farewell *." " Calthon ruſhed in- " to the ſtream: I bounded forward on my ſpear: Teutha's " race fell before us: night came rolling down. Dunthalmo " reſted on a rock, amidſt an aged wood: the rage of his bo- " ſom burned againſt the car-borne Calthon. But Calthon " ſtood in his grief; he mourned the fallen Colmar; Colmar " ſlain in youth, before his fame aroſe †."

Lamentation for loſs of fame. Cuchullin ſpeaks:

" But, O ye ghoſts of the lonely Cromla! ye ſouls of chiefs " that are no more, be ye the companions of Cuchullin, and " talk to him in the cave of his ſorrow. For never more " ſhall I be renowned among the mighty in the land. I am " like a beam that has ſhone; like a miſt that fled away when " the blaſt of the morning came, and brightened the ſhaggy " ſide of the hill. Connal, talk of arms no more; departed " is my fame. My ſighs ſhall be on Cromla's wind, till my " footſteps ceaſe to be ſeen. And thou white-boſom'd Bra- " géla, mourn over the fall of my fame; for, vanquiſhed, ne- " ver will I return to thee, thou ſun-beam of Dunſcaich ‡."

Love of fame begets heroic actions, which go hand in hand with elevated ſentiments: of the former there are examples in every page; of the latter take the following examples:

" And let him come, replied the King. I love a foe like " Cathmor: his ſoul is great; his arm ſtrong; and his battles " full of fame. But the little ſoul is like a vapour that ho- " vers

* Fingal. † Calthon and Colmar. ‡ Fingal.

" vers round the marſhy lake, which never riſes on the green " hill, leſt the winds meet it there *."

Oſſian ſpeaks :

" But let us fly, ſon of Morni, Lathmon deſcends the hill. " Then let our ſteps be ſlow, replied the fair-hair'd Gaul, leſt " the foe ſay with a ſmile, Behold the warriors of night: " they are like ghoſts, terrible in darkneſs ; but they melt away " before the beam of the Eaſt †." " Son of the feeble hand, " ſaid Lathmon, ſhall my hoſt deſcend ! They are but two, " and ſhall a thouſand lift their ſteel ! Nuah would mourn in " his hall for the departure of Lathmon's fame : his eyes " would turn from Lathmon, when the tread of his feet ap- " proached. Go thou to the heroes, ſon of Dutha, for " I behold the ſtately ſteps of Oſſian. His fame is worthy " of my ſteel : let him fight with Lathmon ‡." " Fingal " does not delight in battle, though his arm is ſtrong. My " renown grows on the fall of the haughty : the lightning of " my ſteel pours on the proud in arms. The battle comes ; " and the tombs of the valiant riſe ; the tombs of my people " riſe, O my fathers ! and I at laſt muſt remain alone. But " I will remain renowned, and the departure of my ſoul ſhall " be one ſtream of light §." " I raiſed my voice for Fovar- " gormo, when they laid the chief in earth. The aged Cro- " thar was there, but his ſigh was not heard. He ſearched " for the wound of his ſon, and found it in his breaſt : joy " aroſe in the face of the aged : he came and ſpoke to Oſſian : " King of ſpears, my ſon hath not fallen without his fame : " the young warrior did not fly, but met death as he went for- " ward in his ſtrength. Happy are they who die in youth, " when their renown is heard : their memory ſhall be honour- " ed in the ſong ; the young tear of the virgin falls ‖." Cu-

 " chullin

* Lathmon. † Lathmon. ‡ Lathmon.

§ Lathmon. ‖ Croma.

" chullin kindled at the ſight, and darkneſs gathered on his " brow. His hand was on the ſword of his fathers: his red- " rolling eye on the foe. He thrice attempted to ruſh to " battle, and thrice did Conral ſtop him. Chief of the iſle of " miſt, he ſaid, Fingal ſubdues the foe: ſeek not a part of the " fame of the King *."

The pictures that Oſſian draws of his countrymen, are no leſs remarkable for tender ſentiments, than for elevation. Parental affection is finely couched in the following paſſage:

" Son of Comhal, replied the chief, the ſtrength of Morni's " arm has failed. I attempt to draw the ſword of my youth, " but it remains in its place: I throw the ſpear, but it falls " ſhort of the mark; and I feel the weight of my ſhield. We " decay like the graſs of the mountain, and our ſtrength re- " turns no more. I have a ſon, O Fingal! his ſoul has de- " lighted in the actions of Morni's youth; but his ſword has " not been lifted againſt the foe, neither has his fame begun. " I come with him to battle, to direct his arm. His renown " will be a ſun to my ſoul, in the dark hour of my departure. " O that the name of Morni were forgot among the people, " that the heroes would only ſay, Behold the father of " Gaul †!"

And no leſs finely touched is grief for the loſs of children:

" We ſaw Oſcar leaning on his ſhield: we ſaw his blood " around. Silence darkened on the face of every hero: each " turned his back and wept. The King ſtrove to hide his " tears. He bends his head over his ſon; and his words are " mixed with ſighs. And art thou fallen, Oſcar, in the midſt " of thy courſe! The heart of the aged beats over thee. I " ſee

* Fingal. † Lathmon.

" ſee thy coming battles: I behold the battles that ought to " come, but they are cut off from thy fame. When ſhall joy " dwell at Selma? when ſhall the ſong of grief ceaſe on Mor- " ven? My ſons fall by degrees, Fingal will be the laſt of his " race. The fame I have received ſhall paſs away: my age " ſhall be without friends. I ſhall ſit like a gray cloud in my " hall: nor ſhall I expect the return of a ſon with his ſounding " arms. Weep, ye heroes of Morven: never more will Oſcar " riſe *."

Crothar ſpeaks:

" Son of Fingal! doſt though not behold the darkneſs of " Crothar's hall of ſhells? My ſoul was not dark at the feaſt, " when my people lived. I rejoiced in the preſence of ſtran- " gers, when my ſon ſhone in the hall. But, Oſſian, he is a " beam that is departed, and left no ſtreak of light behind. " He is fallen, ſon of Fingal, in the battles of his father.—— " Rothmar, the chief of graſſy Tromlo, heard that my eyes " had failed; he heard that my arms were fixed in the hall, " and the pride of his ſoul aroſe. He came toward Croma; " my people fell before him. I took my arms in the hall; but " what could ſightleſs Crothar do? My ſteps were unequal; " my grief was great. I wiſhed for the days that were paſt, " days wherein I fought and won in the field of blood. My " ſon returned from the chace, the fair-hair'd Fovar-gormo. " He had not lifted his ſword in battle, for his arm was young. " But the ſoul of the youth was great; the fire of valour " burnt in his eyes. He ſaw the diſordered ſteps of his fa- " ther, and his ſigh aroſe. King of Croma, he ſaid is it be- " cauſe thou haſt no ſon; is it for the weakneſs of Fovar- " gormo's arm that thy ſighs ariſe? I begin, my father, to " feel the ſtrength of my arm: I have drawn the ſword of " my youth; and I have bent the bow. Let me meet this " Rothmar with the youths of Croma: let me meet him, O " my

* Temora.

" my father; for I feel my burning ſoul. And thou ſhalt " meet him, I ſaid, ſon of the ſightleſs Crothar! But let o- " thers advance before thee, that I may hear the tread of thy " feet at thy return; for my eyes behold thee not, fair-hair'd " Fovar-gormo!——He went, he met the foe; he fell. The " foe advances toward Croma. He who ſlew my ſon is near, " with all his pointed ſpears *."

The following ſentiments about the ſhortneſs of human life, are pathetic.

" Deſolate is the dwelling of Moinna, ſilence in the houſe " of her fathers. Raiſe the ſong of mourning over the ſtran " gers. One day we muſt fall; and they have only fallen " before us.——Why doſt thou build the hall, ſon of the " winged days! Thou lookeſt from thy towers to day: ſoon " will the blaſt of the deſert come. It howls in thy empty " court, and whiſtles over thy half-worn ſhield †." " How " long ſhall we weep on Lena, or pour tears in Ullin! The " mighty will not return; nor Oſcar riſe in his ſtrength: the " valiant muſt fall one day, and be no more known. Where " are our fathers, O warriors, the chiefs of the times of old! " They are ſet, like ſtars that have ſhone: we only hear the " ſound of their praiſe. But they were renowned in their day, " and the terror of other times. Thus ſhall we paſs, O war- " riors, in the day of our fall. Then let us be renowned while " we may; and leave our fame behind us, like the laſt beams " of the ſun, when he hides his red head in the weſt ‡."

In Homer's time, heroes were greedy of plunder; and, like robbers, were much diſpoſed to inſult a vanquiſhed foe. According to Oſſian, the ancient Caledonians had no idea of plunder: and as they fought for fame only, their humanity overflowed to the vanquiſhed. American ſavages, it is true,

* Croma. † Carthon. ‡ Temora.

true, are not addicted to plunder, and are ready to beſtow on the firſt comer what trifles they force from the enemy. But they have no notion of a pitched battle, nor of ſingle combat: on the contrary, they value themſelves upon ſlaughtering their enemies by ſurpriſe, without riſking their own ſweet perſons. Agreeable to the magnanimous character given by Oſſian of his countrymen, we find humanity blended with courage in all their actions.

"Fingal pitied the white-armed maid: he ſtayed the uplifted ſword. The tear was in the eye of the King, as bending forward he ſpoke: King of ſtreamy Sora, fear not the "ſword of Fingal: it was never ſtained with the blood of the "vanquiſhed; it never pierced a fallen foe. Let thy people "rejoice along the blue waters of Tora: let the maids of thy "love be glad. Why ſhould'ſt thou fall in thy youth, King of "ſtreamy Sora *."

Fingal ſpeaks:

"Son of my ſtrength, he ſaid, take the ſpear of Fingal: go "to Teutha's mighty ſtream, and ſave the car-borne Colmar. "Let thy fame return before thee like a pleaſant gale; that "my ſoul may rejoice over my ſon, who renews the renown "of our fathers. Oſſian! be thou a ſtorm in battle, but mild "where the foes are low. It was thus my fame aroſe, O my "ſon; and be thou like Selma's chief. When the haughty "come to my hall, my eyes behold them not; but my arm "is ſtretched forth to the unhappy, my ſword defends the "weak †." "O Oſcar, bend the ſtrong in arm, but ſpare the "feeble hand. Be thou a ſtream of many tides againſt the "foes of thy people, but like the gale that moves the graſs to "those

* Carric-thura. † Calthon and Colmar.

" thoſe who aſk thy aid. Never ſearch for the battle, nor ſhun " it when it comes. So Trenmor lived; ſuch Trathal was; " and ſuch has Fingal been. My arm was the ſupport of the " injured; and the weak reſted behind the lightning of my " ſteel *."

Humanity to the vanquiſhed is diſplayed in the following paſſages. After defeating in battle Swaran King of Lochlin, Fingal ſays,

" Raiſe, Ullin, raiſe the ſong of peace, and ſoothe my ſoul " after battle, that my ear may forget the noiſe of arms. And " let a hundred harps be near to gladden the King of Loch- " lin: he muſt depart from us with joy; none ever went ſad " from Fingal. Oſcar, the lightning of my ſword is againſt " the ſtrong; but peaceful it hangs by my ſide when warriors " yield in battle †." " Uthal fell beneath my ſword, and the " ſons of Berrathon fled. It was then I ſaw him in his beauty, " and the tear hung in my eye. Thou art fallen, young tree, " I ſaid, with all thy budding beauties round thee. The " winds come from the deſert, and there is no ſound in thy " leaves. Lovely art thou in death, ſon of car-borne Lath- " mor ‡."

After peruſing theſe quotations, it will not be thought that Oſſian deviates from the manners repreſented by him, in deſcribing the hoſpitality of his chieftains:

" We heard the voice of joy on the coaſt, and we thought " that the mighty Cathmor came; Cathmor, the friend of " ſtrangers, the brother of red-hair'd Cairbar. But their ſouls " were not the ſame; for the light of heaven was in the boſom " of Cathmor. His towers roſe on the banks of Atha: ſeven " paths led to his hall: ſeven chiefs ſtood on theſe paths, and " called the ſtranger to the feaſt. But Cathmor dwelt in the " wood,

* Fingal, book 3. † Fingal, book 6. ‡ Berrathon.

" wood, to avoid the voice of praiſe *." " Rathmor was a " chief of Clutha. The feeble dwelt in his hall. The gates " of Rathmor were never cloſed: his feaſt was always ſpread. " The ſons of the ſtranger came, and bleſſed the generous " chief of Clutha. Bards raiſed the ſong, and touched the " harp: joy brightened on the face of the mournful. Dun- " thalmo came in his pride, and ruſhed into combat with " Rathmor. The chief of Clutha overcame. The rage of " Dunthalmo roſe: he came by night with his warriors; and " the mighty Rathmor fell: he fell in his hall, where his feaſt " had been often ſpread for ſtrangers †."

It ſeems not to exceed the magnanimity of his chieftains, intent upon glory only, to feaſt even an enemy before a battle. Cuchullin, after the firſt day's engagement with Swaran, King of Lochlin or Scandinavia, ſays to Carril, one of his bards,

" Is this feaſt ſpread for me alone, and the King of Lochlin " on Ullin's ſhore; far from the deer of his hills, and ſound- " ing halls of his feaſts? Riſe, Carril of other times, and " carry my words to Swaran; tell him from the roaring of " waters, that Cuchullin gives his feaſt. Here let him liſten " to the ſound of my groves amid the clouds of night: for cold " and bleak the bluſtering winds ruſh over the foam of his " ſeas. Here let him praiſe the trembling harp, and hear the " ſongs of heroes ‡."

The Scandinavian King, leſs poliſhed, refuſed the invitation. Cairbar ſpeaks:

" Spread the feaſt on Lena, and let my hundred bards at- " tend. And thou, red-hair'd Olla, take the harp of the " King. Go to Oſcar, King of ſwords, and bid him to our " feaſt. To day we feaſt and hear the ſong; to-morrow break " the

* Temora. † Calthon and Colmar. ‡ Fingal, book 1.

" the ſpears *." " Olla came with his ſongs. Oſcar went to " Cairbar's feaſt. Three hundred heroes attend the chief, and " the clang of their arms is terrible. The gray dogs bound on " the heath, and their howling is frequent. Fingal ſaw the " departure of the hero: the ſoul of the King was ſad. He " dreads the gloomy Cairbar: but who of the race of Tren- " mor fears the foe †?"

Cruelty is every where condemned as an infamous vice. Speaking of the bards,

" Cairbar feared to ſtretch his ſword to the bards, though " his ſoul was dark; but he cloſed us in the midſt of dark- " neſs. Three days we pined alone: on the fourth the noble " Cathmore came. He heard our voice from the cave, and " turned the eye of his wrath on Cairbar. Chief of Atha, he " ſaid, how long wilt thou pain my ſoul? Thy heart is like " the rock of the deſert, and thy thoughts are dark. But thou " art the brother of Cathmor, and he will fight thy battles. " Cathmor's ſoul is not like thine, thou feeble hand of war. " The light of my boſom is ſtained with thy deeds. The " bards will not ſing of my renown; they may ſay, Cath- " mor was brave, but he fought for gloomy Cairbar; they " will paſs over my tomb in ſilence, and my fame ſhall " not be heard. Cairbar, loofe the bards; they are the ſons " of other times: their voice ſhall be heard in other ages when " the Kings of Temora have failed ‡." " Ullin raiſed his white " ſails: the wind of the ſouth came forth. He bounded on " the waves toward Selma's walls. The feaſt is ſpread on " Lena: an hundred heroes reared the tomb of Cairbar; but " no ſong is raiſed over the chief, for his ſoul had been dark " and bloody. We remembered the fall of Cormac; and " what could we ſay in Cairbar's praiſe §?"

Genuine

* Temora. † Temora. ‡ Temora. § Temora.

Genuine manners never were repreſented more to the life by a Tacitus nor a Shakeſpeare. Such painting is above the reach of pure invention: it muſt be the work of knowledge and feeling.

One may diſcover the manners of a nation from the figure their women make. Among ſavages, women are treated like ſlaves; and they acquire not the dignity that belongs to the ſex, till manners be conſiderably refined*. According to the manners above deſcribed, women ought to have made a conſiderable figure among the ancient Caledonians. Let us examine Oſſian upon that ſubject, in order to judge whether he carries on the ſame tone of manners through every particular. That women were highly regarded, appears from the following paſſages.

"Daughter of the hand of ſnow! I was not ſo mournful "and blind, I was not ſo dark and forlorn, when Everallin "loved me, Everallin with the dark-brown hair, the white-"boſomed love of Cormac. A thouſand heroes fought the "maid, ſhe denied her love to a thouſand: the ſons of the "ſword were deſpiſed; for graceful in her eyes was Oſſian. "I went in ſuit of the maid to Lego's ſable ſurge; twelve of "my people were there, ſons of the ſtreamy Morven. We "came to Branno friend of ſtrangers, Branno of the ſounding "mail.—From whence, he ſaid, are the arms of ſteel? Not "eaſy to win is the maid that has denied the blue-eyed ſons "of Erin. But bleſt be thou, O ſon of Fingal, happy is the "maid that waits thee. Though twelve daughters of beauty "were mine, thine were the choice, thou ſon of fame! Then "he opened the hall of the maid, the dark-haired Everallin. "Joy

* See the Sketch immediately following.

" Joy kindled in our breasts of steel, and blest the maid of " Branno *." " Now Connal, on Cromla's windy side, spoke " to the chief of the noble car. Why that gloom, son of Se- " mo? Our friends are the mighty in battle. And renowned " art thou, O warrior! many were the deaths of thy steel. " Often has Bragela met thee with blue-rolling eyes of joy; " often has she met her hero returning in the midst of the va- " liant, when his sword was red with slaughter, and his foes " silent in the field of the tomb. Pleasant to her ears were " thy bards, when thine actions rose in the song †." " But, " King of Morven, if I shall fall, as one time the warrior must " fall, raise my tomb in the midst, and let it be the greatest " on Lena. And send over the dark-blue wave the sword of " Orla, to the spouse of his love; that she may show it to her " son, with tears, to kindle his soul to war ‡." " I lifted my " eyes to Cromla, and I saw the son of generous Semo.—Sad " and slow he retired from his hill toward the lonely cave of " Tura. He saw Fingal victorious, and mixed his joy with " grief. The sun is bright on his armour, and Connal slowly " followed. They sunk behind the hill, like two pillars of the " fire of night, when winds pursue them over the mountain, " and the flaming heath resounds. Beside a stream of roar- " ing foam, his cave is in a rock. One tree bends above it; " and the rushing winds echo against its sides. There rests " the chief of Dunscaich, the son of generous Semo. His " thoughts are on the battles he lost; and the tear is on his " cheek. He mourned the departure of his fame, that fled " like the mist of Cona. O Bragela, thou art too far remote " to cheer the soul of the hero. But let him see thy bright " form in his soul; that his thoughts may return to the lonely " sun beam of Dunscaich ‖." " Ossian King of swords, re- " plied the bard, thou best raisest the song. Long hast thou " been known to Carril, thou ruler of battles. Often have I " touched

* Fingal, book iv. † Fingal, book v.
‡ Fingal, book v. ‖ Fingal, book v.

" touched the harp to lovely Everallin. Thou, too, haſt of-
" ten accompanied my voice in Branno's hall of ſhells. And
" often amidſt our voices was heard the mildeſt Everallin.
" One day ſhe ſung of Cormac's fall, the youth that died for
" her love. I ſaw the tears on her cheek, and on thine, thou
" chief of men. Her ſoul was touched for the unhappy,
" though ſhe loved him not. How fair among a thouſand
" maids, was the daughter of the generous Branno *." " It
" was in the days of peace, replied the great Cleſſammor, I
" came in my bounding ſhip to Balclutha's walls of towers.
" The winds had roared behind my ſails, and Clutha's ſtreams
" received my dark-boſomed veſſel. Three days I remained
" in Reuthamir's halls, and ſaw that beam of light, his
" daughter. The joy of the ſhell went round, and the aged
" hero gave the fair. Her breaſts were like foam on the
" wave, and her eyes like ſtars of light: her hair was dark as
" the raven's wing: her ſoul was generous and mild. My
" love for Moina was great: and my heart poured forth in
" joy †." " The fame of Oſſian ſhall riſe: his deeds ſhall be
" like his father's. Let us ruſh in our arms, ſon of Morni,
" let us ruſh to battle. Gaul, if thou ſhalt return, go to
" Selma's lofty hall. Tell Everallin that I fell with fame:
" carry the ſword to Branno's daughter: let her give it to
" Oſcar when the years of his youth ſhall ariſe ‡."

Next to war, love makes the principal figure: and well it may; for in Oſſian's poems it breathes every thing ſweet, tender, and elevated.

" On Lubar's graſſy banks they fought; and Grudar fell.
" Fierce Cairbar came to the vale of the echoing Tura, where
" Braſſolis, faireſt of his ſiſters, all alone raiſed the ſong of
" grief. She ſung the actions of Grudar, the youth of her
" ſecret ſoul: ſhe mourned him in the field of blood; but ſtill
" ſhe

* Fingal, book v. † Carthon. ‡ Lathmon.

" ſhe hoped his return. Her white boſom is ſeen from her " robe, as the moon from the clouds of night: her voice was " ſofter than the harp, to raiſe the ſong of grief: her ſoul was " fixed on Grudar, the ſecret look of her eye was his;—when " wilt thou come in thine arms, thou mighty in the war? " Take, Braſſolis, Cairbar ſaid, take this ſhield of blood: fix " it on high within my hall, the armour of my foe. Her ſoft " heart beat againſt her ſide: diſtracted, pale, ſhe flew, and " found her youth in his blood.—She died on Cromla's " heath. Here reſts their duſt, Cuchullin; and theſe two " lonely yews, ſprung from their tombs, wiſh to meet on " high. Fair was Braſſolis on the plain, and Grudar on the " hill. The bard ſhall preſerve their names, and repeat " them to future times *." " Pleaſant is thy voice, O Car- " ril, ſaid the blue-eyed chief of Erin; and lovely are the " words of other times: they are like the calm ſhower of " ſpring, when the ſun looks on the field, and the light cloud " flies over the hill. O ſtrike the harp in praiſe of my love, " the lonely ſun-beam of Dunſcaich: ſtrike the harp in " praiſe of Bragela, whom I left in the iſle of miſt, the " ſpouſe of Semo's ſon.—Doſt thou raiſe thy fair face from " the rock to find the ſails of Cuchullin? the ſea is rolling " far diſtant, and its white foam will deceive thee for my " ſails. Retire, my love, for it is night, and the dark winds " ſigh in thy hair: retire to the hall of my feaſts, and think " of times that are paſt; for I will not return till the ſtorm " of war ceaſe.—O Connal, ſpeak of war and arms, and ſend " her from my mind; for lovely with her raven hair is the " white-boſomed daughter of Sorglan †."

Malvina ſpeaks.

" But thou dwelleſt in the ſoul of Malvina, ſon of mighty " Oſſian. My ſighs ariſe with the beam of the eaſt, my tears " deſcend

* Fingal, book i. † Fingal, book i.

"descend with the drops of the night. I was a lovely tree "in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches round me: "but thy death came like a blast from the desert, and laid "my green head low: the spring returned with its showers, "but of me not a leaf sprung. The virgins saw me silent "in the hall, and they touched the harp of joy. The tear "was on the cheek of Malvina, and the virgins beheld my "grief. Why art thou sad, they said, thou first of the maids "of Lutha? Was he lovely as the beam of the morning, "and stately in thy sight *?" "Fingal came in his mild-"ness, rejoicing in secret over the actions of his son. Mor-"ni's face brightened with gladness, and his aged eyes look-"ed faintly through tears of joy. We came to the halls of "Selma, and sat round the feast of shells. The maids of the "song came into our presence, and the mildly-blushing Eve-"rallin. Her dark hair spreads on her neck of snow, her "eye rolls in secret on Ossian. She touches the harp of "music, and we bless the daughter of Branno †."

Had the Caledonians made slaves of their women, and thought as meanly of them as savages commonly do, Ossian could never have thought, even in a dream, of bestowing on them those numberless graces that exalt the female sex, and render many of them objects of pure and elevated affection. I say more: Supposing a savage to have been divinely inspired, manners so inconsistent with their own would not have been relished, nor even comprehended, by his countrymen. And yet that they were highly relished is certain, having been diffused among all ranks, and preserved for many ages by memory alone, without writing. Here the

* Croma. † Lathmon.

the argument mentioned above ſtrikes with double force, to evince, that the manners of the Caledonians muſt have been really ſuch as Oſſian deſcribes.

Catharina Alexowna, Empreſs of Ruſſia, promoted aſſemblies of men and women, as a means to poliſh the manners of her ſubjects. And in order to preſerve decency in ſuch aſſemblies, ſhe publiſhed a body of regulations, of which the following are a ſpecimen. "Ladies who play at for-
"feitures, queſtions and commands, &c. ſhall not
"be noiſy nor riotous. No gentleman muſt at-
"tempt to force a kiſs, nor ſtrike a woman in the
"aſſembly, under pain of excluſion. Ladies are
"not to get drunk upon any pretence whatever;
"nor gentlemen before nine." Compare the manners that required ſuch regulations with thoſe deſcribed above. Can we ſuppoſe, that the ladies and gentlemen of Oſſian's poems ever amuſed themſelves, after the age of twelve, with hide and ſeek, queſtions and commands, or ſuch childiſh play. Can it enter into our thoughts, that Bragela or Malvina were ſo often drunk, as to require the reprimand of a public regulation? or that any hero of Oſſian ever ſtruck a woman of faſhion in ire?

The immortality of the ſoul was a capital article in the Celtic creed, inculcated by the Druids*. And in Valerius Maximus we find the following paſſage:—"Gallos, memoriæ proditum eſt, pecu-
"nias

* Pomponius Mela. Ammianus Marcellinus.

" nias mutuas, quæ ſibi apud inferos redderentur, " dare: quia perſuaſum habuerint, animas homi- " num immortales eſſe. Dicerem ſtultos, niſi idem " braccati ſenſiſſent quod palliatus Pythagoras ſen- " ſit *." All ſavages have an impreſſion of immortality; but few, even of the moſt enlightened before Chriſtianity prevailed, had the leaſt notion of any occupations in another life, but what they were accuſtomed to in this. Even Virgil, in his poetical fervency, finds no amuſements for his departed heroes, but what they were fond of when alive; the ſame love for war, the ſame taſte for hunting, and the ſame affection to their friends. As we have no reaſon to expect more invention in Oſſian, the obſervation may ſerve as a key to the ghoſts introduced by him, and to his whole machinery, as termed by critics. His deſcription of theſe ghoſts is copied plainly from the creed of his country.

In a hiſtorical account of the progreſs of manners, it would argue groſs inſenſibility to overlook thoſe above mentioned. The ſubject, it is true, has ſwelled upon my hands beyond expectation; but it is not a little intereſting. If theſe manners be genuine, they are a ſingular phenomenon in the

* " It is reported, that the Gauls frequently lent money to " be paid back in the infernal regions, from a firm perſuaſion " that the ſouls of men were immortal. I would have called " them fools, if thoſe wearers of breeches had not thought " the ſame as Pythagoras who wore a cloak."—Lib. 2.

Hiſtory of Man: if they be the invention of an illiterate bard, among ſavages utterly ignorant of ſuch manners, the phenomenon is no leſs ſingular. Let either ſide be taken, and a ſort of miracle muſt be admitted. In the inſtances above given, ſuch a beautiful mixture there is of ſimplicity and dignity, and ſo much life given to the manners deſcribed, that real manners were never repreſented with a more ſtriking appearance of truth. If theſe manners be fictitious, I ſay again, that the author muſt have been inſpired: they plainly exceed the invention of a ſavage; nay, they exceed the invention of any known writer. Every man will judge for himſelf: it is perhaps fondneſs for ſuch refined manners, that makes me incline to reality againſt fiction.

I am aware at the ſame time, that manners ſo pure and elevated, in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, are difficult to be accounted for. The Caledonians were not an original tribe, who may be ſuppoſed to have had manners peculiar to themſelves: they were a branch of the Celtæ, and had a language common to them with the inhabitants of Gaul, and of England. The manners probably of all were the ſame, or nearly ſo; and if we expect any light for explaining Caledonian manners, it muſt be from that quarter: we have indeed no other reſource. Diodorus Siculus * reports of the Celtæ, that, though warlike, they were upright in their dealings,

* Lib. 5.

ings, and far removed from deceit and duplicity. Cæſar *, "Galli homines aperti miniméque inſi-
"dioſi, qui per virtutem, non per dolum, dimi-
"care conſueverunt †." And though cruel to their enemies, yet Pomponius Mela ‡ obſerves, that they were kind and compaſſionate to the ſupplicant and unfortunate. Strabo § deſcribes the Gauls as ſtudious of war, and of great alacrity in fighting; otherwiſe an innocent people, altogether void of malignity. He ſays, that they had three orders of men, bards, prieſts, and druids; that the province of the bards was to ſtudy poetry, and to compoſe ſongs in praiſe of their deceaſed heroes; that the prieſts preſided over divine worſhip; and that the druids, beſide ſtudying moral and natural philoſophy, determined all controverſies, and had ſome direction even in war. Cæſar, leſs attentive to civil matters, comprehends theſe three orders under the name of *druids;* and obſerves, that the druids teach their diſciples a vaſt number of verſes, which they muſt get by heart. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that the Gauls had poets termed *bards*, who ſung airs accompanied with the harp, in praiſe of ſome, and diſpraiſe of others. Lucan, ſpeaking of the three orders, ſays,

* De bello Africo.

† "The Gauls are of an open temper, not at all inſidious;
"and in fight they rely on valour, not on ſtratagem."

‡ Lib. 3. § Lib. 4.

" Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas,
" Laudibus in longum, vates, dimittitis ævum,
" Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina bardi *."

With reſpect to the Celtic women in particular, it is agreed by all writers, that they were extremely beautiful †; and no leſs remarkable for ſpirit than for beauty. If we can rely on Diodorus Siculus, the women in Gaul equalled the men in courage. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, ſays, that the Britiſh women frequently joined with the men, when attacked by an enemy. And ſo much were they regarded, as to be thought capable of the higheſt command. " Neque enim ſexum in impe-" riis diſcernunt," ſays the ſame author ‡. And accordingly, during the war carried on by Caractacus, a gallant Britiſh King, againſt the Romans, Cartiſmandua was Queen of the Brigantes. Boadicea is recorded in Roman annals as a Queen of a warlike ſpirit. She led on a great army againſt the Romans; and in exhorting her people to behave

* " You too, ye bards! whom ſacred raptures fire,
" To chant your heroes to your country's lyre;
" Who conſecrate in your immortal ſtrain,
" Brave patriot ſouls, in righteous battle ſlain;
" Securely now the tuneful taſk renew,
" And nobleſt themes in deathleſs ſongs purſue."

ROWE.

† Diodorus Siculus, lib. 5. Athenæus, lib. 13.

‡ " They made no diſtinction of ſex in conferring autho-" rity."——Vita Agricolæ, cap. 16.

have with courage, ſhe obſerved, that it was not unuſual to ſee a Britiſh army led on to battle by a woman; to which Tacitus adds his teſtimony: "Solitum quidem Britannis fœminarum ductu bel-"lare *." No wonder that Celtic women, ſo amply provided with ſpirit, as well as beauty, made a capital figure in every public entertainment †.

The Gallic Celtæ undoubtedly carried with them their manners and cuſtoms to Britain, and ſpread them gradually from ſouth to north. And as the Caledonians, inhabiting a mountainous country in the northern parts of the iſland, had little commerce with other nations, they preſerved long in purity many Celtic cuſtoms, particularly that of retaining bards. Arthur the laſt Celtic King of England, who was a hero in the defence of his country againſt the Saxons, protected the bards, and was immortalized by them. All the chieftains had bards in their pay, whoſe province it was to compoſe ſongs in praiſe of their anceſtors, and to accompany theſe ſongs with the harp. This entertainment enflamed their love for war, and at the ſame time ſoftened their manners, which, as Strabo reports, were naturally innocent and void of malignity. It had beſide a wonderful influence in forming virtuous manners: the bards, in praiſing deceaſed heroes, would naturally ſelect virtuous actions, which are peculiarly adapted to heroic

* "The Britons even followed women as leaders in the "field."—Annalium, lib. 14. † Athenæus, lib. 10.

roic poetry, and tend the moſt to illuſtrate the hero of their ſong: vice may be flattered; but praiſe is never willingly nor ſucceſsfully beſtowed upon any atchievement but what is virtuous and heroic. It is accordingly obſerved by Ammianus Marcellinus *, that the bards inculcated in their ſongs virtue and actions worthy of praiſe. The bards, who were in high eſtimation, became great proficients in poetry; of which we have a conſpicuous inſtance in the works of Oſſian. Their capital compoſitions were diligently ſtudied by thoſe of their own order, and admired by all. The ſongs of the bards, accompanied with the harp, made a deep impreſſion on the young warrior, elevated ſome into heroes, and promoted virtue in every hearer †. Another circumſtance, common to the Caledonians with every other nation in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, concurred to form their manners; which is, that avarice was unknown among them. People in that ſtage, ignorant of habitual wants, and having a ready ſupply of all that nature requires, have little notion of property, and not the ſlighteſt deſire of accumulating

* Lib. 15.

† Polydore Virgil ſays, *Hiberni ſunt muſicæ peritiſſimi.*—[*In Engliſh thus:* "The Iriſh are moſt ſkilful in muſic."]—Ireland was peopled from Britain; and the muſic of that country muſt have been derived from Britiſh bards. The Welſh bards were the great champions of independence; and in particular promoted an obſtinate reſiſtance to Edward I. when he carried his arms into Wales. And hence the tradition, that the Welſh bards were all ſlaughtered by that King.

accumulating the goods of fortune; and for that reaſon are always found honeſt and diſintereſted. With reſpect to the female ſex, who make an illuſtrious figure in Oſſian's poems, if they were ſo eminent both for courage and beauty as they are repreſented by the beſt authors, it is no wonder to find them painted by Oſſian as objects of love the moſt pure and refined. Nor ought it to be overlooked, that the ſoft and delicate notes of the harp have a tendency to purify manners, and to refine love.

Whether the cauſes here aſſigned of Celtic manners be fully adequate, may well admit of a doubt; but if authentic hiſtory be relied on, we can entertain no doubt, that the manners of the Gallic and Britiſh Celtæ, including the Caledonians, were ſuch as are above deſcribed. And as the manners aſcribed by Oſſian to his countrymen the Caledonians, are in every particular conformable to thoſe now mentioned, it clearly follows, that Oſſian was no inventor, but drew his pictures of manners from real life. This is made highly probable from intrinſic evidence, the ſame that is ſo copiouſly urged above: and now by authentic hiſtory, that probability is ſo much heightened, as ſcarce to leave room for a doubt.

Our preſent highlanders are but a ſmall part of the inhabitants of Britain; and they have been ſinking in their importance, from the time that arts and ſciences made a figure, and peaceable manners prevailed. And yet in that people are diſcernible

diſcernible many remaining features of their forefathers the Caledonians. They have to this day a diſpoſition to war, and when diſciplined make excellent ſoldiers, ſober, active, and obedient. They are eminently hoſpitable; and the character given by Strabo of the Gallic Celtæ, that they were innocent and devoid of malignity, is to them perfectly applicable. That they have not the magnanimity and heroiſm of the Caledonians, is eaſily accounted for. The Caledonians were a free and independent people, unawed by any ſuperior power, and living under the mild government of their own chieftains: compared with their forefathers, the preſent highlanders make a very inconſiderable figure: their country is barren, and at any rate is but a ſmall part of a potent kingdom; and their language deprives them of intercourſe with their poliſhed neighbours.

There certainly never happened in literature, a diſcovery more extraordinary than the works of Oſſian. To lay the ſcene of action among hunters in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, and to beſtow upon ſuch a people a ſyſtem of manners that would do honour to the moſt poliſhed ſtate, ſeemed at firſt an ill-contrived forgery. But if a forgery, why ſo bold and improbable? why not invent manners more congruous to the ſavage ſtate? And as at any rate the work has great merit, why did the author conceal himſelf? Theſe conſiderations rouſed my attention, and produced the foregoing diſquiſition;

quiſition; which I finiſhed, without imagining that any more light could be obtained. But, after a long interval, a thought ſtruck me, that as the Caledonians formerly were much connected with the Scandinavians, the manners of the latter might probably give light in the preſent inquiry. I cheerfully ſpread my ſails in a wide ocean, not without hopes of importing precious merchandiſe. Many volumes did I turn over of Scandinavian hiſtory; attentive to thoſe paſſages where the manners of the inhabitants in the firſt ſtage of ſociety are delineated. And now I proceed to preſent my reader with the goods imported.

The Danes, ſays Adam of Bremen, are remarkable for elevation of mind: the puniſhment of death is leſs dreaded by them than that of whipping. "The philoſophy of the Cimbri," ſays Valerius Maximus, "is gay and reſolute: they "leap for joy in a battle, hoping for a glorious "end: in ſickneſs they lament, for fear of the "contrary." What fortified their courage, was a perſuaſion, that thoſe who die in battle fighting bravely are inſtantly tranſlated to the hall of Odin, to drink beer out of the ſkull of an enemy. "Hap-"py in their miſtake," ſays Lucan, "are the "people who live near the pole: perſuaded that "death is only a paſſage to long life, they are un-"diſturbed by the moſt grievous of all fears, that "of dying: they eagerly run to arms, and eſteem "it cowardice to ſpare a life they ſhall ſoon reco-

"ver

" ver in another world." Such was their magnanimity, that they ſcorned to ſnatch a victory by ſurpriſe. Even in their piratical expeditions, inſtances are recorded of ſetting aſide all the ſhips that exceeded thoſe of the enemy, leſt the victory ſhould be attributed to ſuperiority of numbers. It was held unmanly to decline a combat, however unequal; for courage, it was thought, rendered all men equal. The ſhedding tears was unmanly, even for the death of friends.

The Scandinavians were ſenſible in a high degree to praiſe and to reproach; for love of fame was their darling paſſion. Olave, King of Norway, placing three of his ſcalds or bards around him in a battle, " You ſhall not relate," ſaid he, " what you have only heard, but what you are " eye-witneſſes of." Upon every occaſion we find them inſiſting upon glory, honour, and contempt of death, as leading principles. The bare ſuſpicion of cowardice was attended with univerſal contempt: a man who loſt his buckler, or received a wound behind, durſt never again appear in public. Frotho King of Denmark, made captive in a battle, obſtinately refuſed either liberty or life. " To " what end," ſays he," " ſhould I ſurvive the " diſgrace of being made a captive? Should you " even reſtore to me my ſiſter, my treaſure, and " my kingdom, would theſe benefits reſtore me to " my honour? Future ages will always have to " ſay, that Frotho was taken by his enemy *."

Much

* Saxo Grammaticus.

Much efficacy is above aſcribed to the ſongs of Caledonian bards; and with ſatisfaction I find my obſervations juſtified in every Scandinavian hiſtory. The Kings of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, are repreſented in ancient chronicles as conſtantly attended with ſcalds or bards, who were treated with great reſpect, eſpecially by princes diſtinguiſhed in war. Harold Harfager at his feaſts placed them above all his other officers; and employed them in negotiations of the greateſt importance. The poetic art, held in great eſtimation, was cultivated by men of the firſt rank. Rogvald, Earl of Orkney, paſſed for an able poet. King Regnar was diſtinguiſhed in poetry, no leſs than in war. It was the proper province of bards in Scandinavia, as in other countries, to celebrate in odes the atchievements of deceaſed heroes. They were frequently employed in animating the troops before a battle. Hacon, Earl of Norway, in his famous engagement againſt the warriors of Iomſburg, had five celebrated poets, each of whom ſung an ode to the ſoldiers ready to engage. Saxo Grammaticus, deſcribing a battle between Waldemar and Sueno, mentions a ſcald belonging to the former, who, advancing to the front of the army, reproached the latter in a pathetic ode as the murderer of his own father.

The odes of the Scandinavian bards have a peculiar energy; which is not difficult to be accounted for. The propenſity of the Scandinavians to war,

war, their love of glory, their undaunted courage, and their warlike exploits, naturally produced elevated ſentiments, and an elevated tone of language; both of which were diſplayed in celebrating heroic deeds. Take the following inſtances. The firſt is from the Edda, which contains the birth and genealogy of their gods. " The " giant Rymer arrives from the eaſt, carried in a " chariot: the great ſerpent, rolling himſelf fu- " rioufly in the waters, lifteth up the ſea. The " eagle ſcreams, and with his horrid beak tears " the dead. The veſſel of the gods is ſet afloat. " The black prince of fire iſſues from the ſouth, " ſurrounded with flames: the ſwords of the gods " beam like the ſun: ſhaken are the rocks, and " fall to pieces. The female giants wander about " weeping: men in crowds tread the paths of " death. Heaven is ſplit aſunder, the ſun darken- " ed, and the earth ſunk in the ocean. The ſhin- " ing ſtars vaniſh: the fire rages: the world draws " to an end; and the flame aſcending licks the " vault of heaven. From the boſom of the waves " an earth emerges, clothed with lovely green: " the floods retire: the fields produce without " culture: misfortunes are baniſhed from the " world. Balder and his brother, gods of war, " return to inhabit the ruin'd palace of Odin. A " palace more reſplendent than the ſun, riſes now " to view; adorned with a roof of gold: there " good men ſhall inhabit; and live in joy and

" pleaſure

" pleafure through all ages." In a collection of ancient hiftorical monuments of the north, publifhed by Bionar, a learned Swede, there is the following paffage. " Grunder, perceiving Gry-
" mer rufhing furiofly through oppofing bat-
" talions, cries aloud, *Thou alone remaineft to en-*
" *gage with me in fingle combat. It is now thy turn*
" *to feel the keennefs of my fword.* Their fabres,
" like dark and threatening clouds, hang dreadful
" in the air. Grymer's weapon darts down like
" a thunderbolt: their fwords furiofly ftrike:
" they are bathed in gore. Grymer cleaves the
" cafque of his enemy, hews his armour in pieces,
" and pours the light into his bofom. Grunder
" finks to the ground; and Grymer gives a dread-
" ful fhout of triumph." This picture is done with a mafterly hand. The capital circumftances are judiciofly felected; and the narration is compact and rapid. Indulge me with a moment's paufe, to compare this picture with one or two in Offian's manner. " As autumn's dark ftorms pour from
" two echoing hills; fo to each other approach the
" heroes. As from high rocks two dark ftreams
" meet, and mix and roar on the plain; fo meet
" Lochlin and Inis-fail, loud, rough, and dark in
" battle. Chief mixes his ftrokes with chief, and
" man with man; fteel founds on fteel, helmets are
" cleft on high. Blood burfts, and fmoaks around.
" Strings murmur on the polifhed yew. Darts
" rufh along the fky. Spears fall like fparks of

"flame that gild the ſtormy face of night. As the "noiſe of the troubled ocean when roll the waves "on high, as the laſt peal of thundering heaven, "ſuch is the noiſe of battle. Though Cormac's "hundred bards were there, feeble were the voice "of an hundred bards to ſend the deaths to future "times; for many were the heroes who fell, and "wide poured the blood of the valiant." Again, "As roll a thouſand waves to the rocks, ſo came "on Swaran's hoſt: as meets a rock a thouſand "waves, ſo Inis-fail met Swaran. The voice of "death is heard all around, and mixes with the "ſound of ſhields. Each hero is a pillar of dark-"neſs, and the ſword a beam of fire in his hand. "From wing to wing echoes the field, like a hun-"dred hammers that riſe by turns on the red ſun "of the furnace. Who are thoſe on Lena's heath, "ſo gloomy and dark? they are like two clouds, "and their ſwords lighten above. Who is it but "Oſſian's ſon and the car-borne chief of Erin?" Theſe two deſcriptions make a deeper impreſſion, and ſwell the heart more than the former: they are more poetical, by ſhort ſimiles finely interwoven; and the images are far more lofty. And yet Oſſian's chief talent is ſentiment, in which Scandinavian bards are far inferior: in the generoſity, tenderneſs, and humanity of his ſentiments, he has not a rival.

The ancient Scandinavians were undoubtedly a barbarous people, compared with the ſouthern nations

tions of Europe; but that they were far from being groſs ſavages, may be gathered from a poem ſtill extant, named *Havamaal; or, The ſublime diſcourſe of Odin.* Though that poem is of great antiquity, it is replete with good leſſons and judicious reflections; of which the following are a ſpecimen:

"Happy he who gains the applauſe and good will of men.

"Love your friends, and love alſo their friends.

"Be not the firſt to break with your friend: ſorrow gnaws the heart of him who has not a ſingle friend to adviſe with.

"Where is the virtuous man that hath not a failing? Where is the wicked man that hath not ſome good quality?

"Riches take wing; relations die: you yourſelf ſhall die. One thing only is out of the reach of fate; which is, the judgment that paſſes on the dead.

"There is no malady more ſevere than the being diſcontented with one's lot.

"Let not a man be overwiſe nor overcurious: if he would ſleep in quiet, let him not ſeek to know his deſtiny.

"While we live, let us live well: a man lights his fire, but before it be burnt out death may enter.

"A coward dreams that he may live for ever: if he ſhould eſcape every other weapon, he cannot eſcape old age.

"The flocks know when to retire from paſture: the glutton knows not when to retire from the feaſt.

"The lewd and diſſolute make a mock of every thing, not conſidering how much they deſerve to be mocked.

"The beſt proviſion for a journey, is ſtrength of underſtanding: more uſeful than treaſure, it welcomes one to the table of the ſtranger."

Hitherto the manners of the Scandinavians reſemble in many capital circumſtances thoſe delineated in the works of Oſſian. I lay not, however, great ſtreſs upon that reſemblance, becauſe ſuch manners are found among ſeveral other warlike nations in the firſt ſtage of ſociety. The circumſtance that has occaſioned the greateſt doubt about Oſſian's ſyſtem of manners, is the figure his women make. Among other ſavage nations, they are held to be beings of an inferior rank; and as ſuch are treated with very little reſpect: in Oſſian they make an illuſtrious figure, and are highly regarded by the men. I have not words to expreſs my ſatisfaction, when I diſcovered, that anciently among the barbarous Scandinavians, the female ſex made a figure no leſs illuſtrious. A reſemblance ſo complete with reſpect to a matter extremely ſingular among barbarians, cannot fail to convert the moſt obſtinate infidel, leaving no doubt of Oſſian's veracity.—But I ought not to anticipate. One cannot paſs a verdict till the evidence be ſummed up; and

to

to that taſk I now proceed with ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs.

It is a fact aſcertained by many writers, That women in the north of Europe were eminent for reſolution and courage. Cæſar, in the firſt book of his Commentaries, deſcribing a battle he fought with the Helvetii, ſays, that the women with a warlike ſpirit exhorted their huſbands to perſiſt, and placed the waggons in a line to prevent their flight. Florus and Tacitus mention, that ſeveral battles of thoſe barbarous nations were renewed by their women, preſenting their naked boſoms, and declaring their abhorrence of captivity. Flavius Vopiſcus, writing of Proculus Cæſar, ſays, that a hundred Sarmatian virgins were taken in battle. The Longobard women, when many of their huſbands were cut off in a battle, took up arms, and obtained the victory *. The females of the Galactophagi, a Scythian tribe, were as warlike as the males, and went often with them to war †. In former times, many women in Denmark applied themſelves to arms ‡. Jornandes deſcribes the women of the Goths as full of courage, and trained to arms like the men. Joannes Magnus, Archbiſhop of Upſal, ſays the ſame; and mentions in particular an expedition of the Goths to invade a neighbouring country, in which more

 women

* Paulus Diaconus. † Nicolaus Damaſcenus.

‡ Saxo Grammaticus.

women went along with the men than were left at home *. Several Scandinavian women exercised piracy †. The Cimbri were always attended with their wives even in their distant expeditions, and were more afraid of their reproaches than of the blows of the enemy. The Goths, compelled by famine to surrender to Belisarius the city of Ravenna, were bitterly reproached by their wives for cowardice ‡. In a battle between Regner King of Denmark and Fro King of Sweden, many women took part with the former, Langertha in particular, who fought with her hair flowing about her shoulders. Regner, being victorious, demanded who that woman was who had behaved so gallantly; and finding her to be a virgin of noble birth, he took her to wife. He afterwards divorced her, in order to make way for a daughter of the King of Sweden. Regner, being unhappily engaged in a civil war with Harald, who aspired to the throne of Denmark; Langertha, overlooking her wrongs, brought from Norway a body of men to assist her husband; and behaved so gallantly, that, in the opinion of all, Regner was indebted to her for the victory.

To find women, in no considerable portion of the globe, rivalling men in their capital property of courage, is a singular phenomenon. That this phenomenon

* Book I.

† Olaus Magnus.

‡ Procopius, Historia Gothica, lib. 2.

phenomenon muſt have had an adequate cauſe, is certain; but of that cauſe, it is better to acknowledge our utter ignorance, however mortifying, than to ſqueeze out conjectures that will not bear examination.

In rude nations, prophets and ſoothſayers are held to be a ſuperior claſs of men: what a figure then muſt the Vandal women have made, when in that nation, as Procopius ſays, all the prophets and ſoothſayers were of the female ſex? In Scandinavia, women are ſaid to have been ſkilful in magic arts as well as men. Tacitus informs us, that the Germans had no other phyſicians but their women. They followed the armies, to ſtaunch the blood, and ſuck the wounds of their huſbands *. He mentions a fact that ſets the German women in a conſpicuous light, That female hoſtages bound the Germans more ſtrictly to their engagements than male hoſtages. He adds, "Ineſſe quinetiam ſanctum aliquid et providum putant: nec aut conſilia earum aſpernantur, aut reſponſa negligun-

 "tur."

* The expreſſion of Tacitus is beautiful: "Ad matres, ad "conjuges, vulnera ferunt: nec illæ numerare aut exſugere "plagas pavent: cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus geſtant." —(*In Engliſh thus:* "When wounded, they find phyſicians in "their mothers and wives, who are not afraid to count and "ſuck their wounds. They carry proviſions for their ſons "and huſbands, and animate them in battle by their exhortations.")

" tur *." The hiſtories and romances of the north repreſent women, and even princeſſes, acting as phyſicians in war.

Polygamy ſprung up in countries where women are treated as inferior beings: it can never take place where the two ſexes are held to be of equal rank. For that reaſon, polygamy never was known among the northern nations of Europe. Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote the hiſtory of Denmark in the twelfth century, gives not the ſlighteſt hint of polygamy, even among kings and princes. Crantz, in his hiſtory of the Saxons †, affirms, that polygamy was never known among the northern nations of Europe; which is confirmed by every other writer who gives the hiſtory of any of theſe nations. Scheffer in particular, who writes the hiſtory of Lapland, obſerves, that neither polygamy nor divorce were ever heard of in that country, not even during Paganiſm.

We have the authority of Procopius ‡, that the women in thoſe countries were remarkable for beauty, and that thoſe of the Goths and Vandals were the fineſt that ever had been ſeen in Italy; and

* " They believe that there is ſomething ſacred in their cha-" racter, and that they have a foreſight of futurity: for this " reaſon, their counſels are always reſpected; nor are their " opinions ever diſregarded."

† Lib. 1. cap. 2.

‡ Hiſtoria Gothica, lib. 3.

and we have the authority of Crantz, that chaſtity was in high eſtimation among the Danes, Swedes, and other Scandinavians. When theſe facts are added to thoſe above mentioned, it will not be thought ſtrange, that love between the ſexes, even among that rude people, was a pure and elevated paſſion. That it was in fact ſuch, is certain, if hiſtory can be credited, or the ſentiments of a people expreſſed in their poetical compoſitions. I begin with the latter, as evidence the moſt to be relied on. The ancient poems of Scandinavia contain the warmeſt expreſſions of love and regard for the female ſex. In an ode of King Regner Lodbrog, a very ancient poem, we find the following ſentiments: "We fought with ſwords upon a promon-
" tory of England, when I ſaw ten thouſand of my
" foes rolling in the duſt. A dew of blood diſtil-
" led from our ſwords: the arrows that flew in
" ſearch of the helmets, hiſſed through the air.
" The pleaſure of that day was like the claſping a
" fair virgin in my arms." Again, "A young
" man ſhould march early to the conflict of arms;
" in which conſiſts the glory of the warrior. He
" who aſpires to the love of a miſtreſs, ought to be
" dauntleſs in the claſh of ſwords." Theſe Hyperboreans, it would appear, had early learned to combine the ideas of love and of military proweſs; which is ſtill more conſpicuous in an ode of Harald the Valiant, of a later date. That prince, who figured in the middle of the eleventh century, traverſed

verſed all the ſeas of the north, and made piratical incurſions even upon the coaſts of the Mediterranean. In this ode he complains, that the glory he had acquired made no impreſſion on Eliſſir, daughter to Jariſlas, King of Ruſſia. "I have made the "tour of Sicily. My brown veſſel, full of mari-"ners, made a ſwift progreſs. My courſe I "thought would never ſlacken—and yet a Ruſſian "maiden ſcorns me. The troops of Drontheim, "which I attacked in my youth, exceeded ours in "number. Terrible was the conflict: I left their "young king dead on the field—and yet a Ruſſian "maiden ſcorns me. Six exerciſes I can perform: "I fight valiantly: firm is my ſeat on horſeback: "inured I am to ſwimming: ſwift is my motion "on ſcates: I dart the lance: I am ſkilful at the "oar—and yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me. Can "ſhe deny, this young and lovely maiden, that "near a city in the ſouth I joined battle, and left "behind me laſting monuments of my exploits? "—and yet a Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me. My "birth was in the high country of Norway, fa-"mous for archers: but ſhips were my delight; "and, far from the habitations of men, I have tra-"verſed the ſeas from north to ſouth—and yet a "Ruſſian maiden ſcorns me." In the very ancient poem of Havamaal, mentioned above, there are many expreſſions of love to the fair ſex. "He "who would gain the love of a maiden, muſt ad-"dreſs her with ſmooth ſpeeches, and ſhowy gifts.

"It

"It requires good ſenſe to be a ſkilful lover." Again, "If I aſpire to the love of the chaſteſt virgin, I can bend her mind, and make her yield to my deſires." The ancient Scandinavian chronicles preſent often to our view young warriors endeavouring to acquire the favour of their miſtreſſes, by boaſting of their accompliſhments, ſuch as their dexterity in ſwimming and ſcating, their talent in poetry, their ſkill in cheſs, and their knowing all the ſtars by name. Mallet, in the introduction to his Hiſtory of Denmark, mentions many ancient Scandinavian novels that turn upon love and heroiſm. Theſe may be juſtly held as authentic evidence of the manners of the people: it is common to invent facts; but it is not common to attempt the inventing of manners.

It is an additional proof of the great regard paid to women in Scandinavia, that in Edda, the Scandinavian Bible, female deities make as great a figure as male deities.

Agreeable to the manners deſcribed, we find it univerſally admitted among the ancient Scandinavians, that beauty ought to be the reward of courage and military ſkill. A warrior was thought entitled to demand in marriage any young woman, even of the higheſt rank, if he overcame his rivals in ſingle combat: nor was it thought any hardſhip on the young lady, to be yielded to the victor. The ladies were not always of that opinion; for the ſtouteſt fighter is not always the handſomeſt man,

man, nor the moſt engaging. And in the hiſtories of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, many inſtances are related, of men generouſly interpoſing to reſcue young beauties from brutes, deſtitute of every accompliſhment but ſtrength and boldneſs. Such ſtories have a fabulous air, and many of them probably are mere fables. Some of them, however, have a ſtrong appearance of truth: men are introduced who make a figure in the real hiſtory of the country; and many circumſtances are related, that make links in the chain of that hiſtory. Take the following ſpecimen. The ambaſſadors of Frotho, King of Denmark, commiſſioned to demand in marriage the daughter of a King of the Huns, were feaſted for three days, as the cuſtom was in ancient times; and being admitted to the young Princeſs, ſhe rejected the offer; "Becauſe," ſays ſhe, "your King has acquired no reputation in "war, but paſſes his time effeminately at home." In Biorner's collection of ancient hiſtorical monuments, mentioned above, there is the following hiſtory: Charles King of Sweden kept on foot an army of choſen men. He had a daughter named *Inguegerda*, whoſe lively and graceful accompliſhments were admired ſtill more than her birth and fortune. The breaſt of the King overflowed with felicity. Grymer, a youth of noble birth, knew to dye his ſword in the blood of his enemies, to run over craggy mountains, to wreſtle, to play at cheſs, and to trace the motions of the ſtars. He

ſtudied

udied to ſhow his ſkill in the apartment of the damſels, before the lovely Inguegerda. At length he ventured to open his mind. "Wilt thou, O "fair Princeſs! accept of me for a huſband, if I "obtain the King's conſent?" "Go," ſays ſhe, "and ſupplicate my father." The courtly youth reſpectfully addreſſing the King, ſaid, "O King! "give me in marriage thy beautiful daughter." He anſwered ſternly, "Thou haſt learned to handle "thy arms: thou haſt acquired ſome honourable "diſtinctions: but haſt thou ever gained a victory, "or given a banquet to ſavage beaſts that rejoice "in blood?" "Where ſhall I go, O King! that "I may dye my ſword in crimſon, and render my-"ſelf worthy of being thy ſon-in-law?"—"Hial-"mar, ſon of Harec," ſaid the King, "who go-"verns Biarmland, has become terrible by a keen "ſword: the firmeſt ſhields he hews in pieces, and "loads his followers with booty. Go, and prove "thy valour by attacking that hero: cauſe him to "bite the duſt, and Inguegerda ſhall be thy re-"ward." Grymer, returning to his fair miſtreſs, "ſaluted her with ardent looks of love. "What "anſwer haſt thou received from the King?" "To obtain thee I muſt deprive the fierce Hial-"mar of life." Inguegerda exclaimed with grief, "Alas! my father hath devoted thee to "death." Grymer ſelected a troop of brave warriors, eager to follow him. They launch their veſſels into the wide ocean: they unfurl the ſails, which

which catch the ſpringing gale: the ſhrouds rattle: the waves foam, and daſh againſt the prows: they ſteer their numerous veſſels to the ſhore of Gothland; bent to glut the hungry raven, and to gorge the wolf with prey. Thus landed Grymer on Gothland! and thus did a beauteous maiden occaſion the death of many heroes. Hialmar demanded who the ſtrangers were. Grymer told his name; adding, that he had ſpent the ſummer in queſt of him. "May your arrival, replied Hialmar, be fortunate; and may health and honour attend you. You ſhall partake of my gold, with the unmixed juice of the grape. Thy offers, ſaid Grymer, I dare not accept. Prepare for battle; and let us haſten to give a banquet to beaſts of prey. Hialmar laid hold of his white cuiraſs, his ſword, and his buckler. Grymer, with a violent blow of his ſabre, transfixes Hialmar's ſhield, and cuts off his left hand. Hialmar enraged, brandiſhes his ſword, and ſtriking off Grymer's helmet and cuiraſs, pierces his breaſt and ſides: an effuſion of blood follows. Grymer raiſing his ſabre with both hands, lays Hialmar proſtrate on the ground; and he himſelf ſinks down upon the dead body of his adverſary. He was put on ſhipboard, and when landed ſeemed to be at the laſt period of life. The diſtreſſed Princeſs undertook his cure; and reſtored him to health. They were married with great ſolemnity; and the beauteous bride

"of

" of Grymer filled the heart of her hero with un-
" fading joy."

According to the rude manners of those times, a lover did not always wait for the consent of his mistress. Joannes Magnus, Archbishop of Upsal, observes in his History of the Goths, that ravishing of women was of old no less frequent among the Scandinavians than among the Greeks. He relates, that Gram, son to the King of Denmark, carried off the King of Sweden's daughter, whose beauty was celebrated in verses remembered even in his time. Another instance he gives, of Nicolaus King of Denmark *, who courted Uluilda, a noble and beautiful Norvegian lady, and obtained her consent. Nothing remained but the celebration of the nuptials, when she was carried off by Suercher, King of Sweden. We have the authority of Saxo Grammaticus, that Skiold, one of the first Kings of Denmark, fought a duel for a beautiful young woman, and obtained her for a wife. That author relates many duels of the same kind. It was indeed common among the Scandinavians, before they became Christians, to fight for a wife, and to carry off the desired object by force of arms. No cause of war between neighbouring kings was more frequent. Fridlevus King of Denmark sent a solemn embassy to Hasmundus King of Norway, to demand in marriage his daughter. Hasmundus had a rooted aversion to the Danes, who had done much

* Book 18.

much mischief in his country. "Go," says he to the ambassadors, "and demand a wife where you "are less hated than in Norway." The young lady, who had no aversion to the match, intreated leave to speak. "You seem," said she, "not to "consult the good of your kingdom in rejecting "so potent a son-in-law, who can carry by force "what he is now applying for by intreaties." The father continuing obstinate, dismissed the ambassadors. Fridlevus sent other ambassadors, redoubling his intreaties for a favourable answer. Hasmundus said, that one refusal might be thought sufficient; and in a fit of passion put the ambassadors to death. Fridlevus invaded Norway with a potent army; and, after a desperate battle, carried off the lady in triumph.

The figure that women made in the north of Europe by their courage, their beauty, and their chastity, could not fail to produce mutual esteem and love between the sexes: nor could that love fail to be purified into the most tender affection, when their rough manners were smoothed in the progress of society. If love between the sexes prevail in Lapland as much as any where, which is vouched by Scheffer in his history of that country, it must be for a reason very different from that now mentioned. The males in Lapland, who are great cowards, have no reason to despise the females for their timidity; and in every country where the women equal the men, mutual esteem and affection

fection naturally take place. Two Lapland odes communicated to us by the author mentioned, leave no doubt of this fact, being full of the tendereſt ſentiments that love can inſpire. The following is a literal tranſlation.

FIRST ODE.

I.

Kulnaſatz my rein-deer,
We have a long journey to go:
The moors are vaſt,
And we muſt haſte;
Our ſtrength, I fear,
Will fail if we are ſlow;
And ſo
Our ſongs will do.

II.

Kaigé, the watery moor,
Is pleaſantunto me,
Though long it be;
Since it doth to my miſtreſs lead
Whom I adore:
The Kilwa moor
I ne'er again will tread.

III.

Thoughts fill'd my mind
Whilſt I thro' Kaigé paſt
Swift as the wind,
And my deſire,
Wing'd with impatient fire:
My rein-deer let us haſte.

IV.

So ſhall we quickly end our pleaſing pain:
Behold my miſtreſs there,

With decent motion walking o'er the plain.
Kulnaſatz my rain-deer,
Look yonder, where
She waſhes in the lake :
See while ſhe ſwims,
The waters from her purer limbs
New clearneſs take.

SECOND ODE.

I.

With brighteſt beams let the ſun ſhine
On Orra moor.
Could I be ſure
That from the top o' th' lofty pine
I Orra moor might ſee,
I to its higheſt bow would climb,
And with induſtrious labour try
Thence to deſcry
My miſtreſs, if that there ſhe be.

II.

Could I but know, amid what flowers,
Or in what ſhade ſhe ſtays,
The gaudy bowers,
With all their verdant pride,
Their bloſſoms and their ſprays,
Which make my miſtreſs diſappear,
And her envious darkneſs hide,
I from the roots and bed of earth would tear.

III.

Upon the raft of clouds I'd ride,
Which unto Orra fly :
O' th' ravens I would borrow wings,
And all the feather'd inmates of the ſky :
But wings, alas, are me deny'd,
The ſtork and ſwan their pinions will not lend,

There's

There's none who unto Orra brings,
Or will by that kind conduct me befriend.

IV.

Enough, enough! thou haſt delay'd
So many ſummers days
The beſt of days that crown the year,
Which light upon the eye-lids dart,
And melting joy upon the heart:
But ſince that thou ſo long haſt ſtay'd,
They in unwelcome darkneſs diſappear.
Yet vainly doſt thou me forſake;
I will purſue and overtake.

V.

What ſtronger is than bolts of ſteel?
What can more ſurely bind?
Love is ſtronger far than it;
Upon the head in triumph ſhe doth ſit;
Fetters the mind,
And doth control
The thought and ſoul.

VI.

A youth's deſire is the deſire of wind;
All his eſſays
Are long delays:
No iſſue can they find.
Away fond counſellors, away,
No more advice obtrude:
I'll rather prove
The guidance of blind love;
To follow you is certainly to ſtray:
One ſingle counſel, tho' unwiſe, is good.

In the Scandinavian manners here deſcribed, is diſcovered a ſtriking reſemblance to thoſe deſcribed by Oſſian. And as ſuch were the manners of

the Scandinavians in the firſt ſtage of ſociety, it no longer remains a wonder, that the manners of Caledonia ſhould be equally pure in the ſame early period. And now every argument above urged for Oſſian as a genuine hiſtorian has its full weight, without the leaſt counterpoiſe. It is true, that Caledonian manners appear from Oſſian to have been ſtill more poliſhed and refined than thoſe of Scandinavia; but that difference may have proceeded from accidents which time has buried in oblivion.

I make no apology for inſiſting ſo largely on Scandinavian manners; for they tend remarkably to ſupport the credit of Oſſian; and conſequently to aſcertain a fact not a little intereſting, that our forefathers were not ſuch barbarians as they are commonly held to be. All the inhabitants of Britain were of Celtic extraction; and there is reaſon to believe, that the manners of Caledonia were the manners of every part of the iſland, before the inhabitants of the plains were enſlaved by the Romans. The only circumſtance peculiar to the Caledonians, is their mountainous ſituation: being leſs expoſed to the oppreſſion of foreigners, and farther removed from commerce, they did longer than their ſouthern neighbours preſerve their manners pure and untainted.

I have all along conſidered the poems of Oſſian in a hiſtorical view merely. In the view of criticiſm they have been examined by a writer of diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed taſte *; and however bold to enter a field where he hath reaped laurels, I imagine that there ſtill remain ſome trifles for me to glean. Two of theſe poems, Fingal and Temora, are regular epic poems; and perhaps the ſingle inſtances of epic poetry moulded into the form of an opera. We have in theſe two poems both the *Recitativo* and *Aria* of an Italian opera; dropped indeed in the tranſlation, from difficulty of imitation. Oſſian's poems were all of them compoſed with a view to muſic; though in the long poems mentioned, it is probable that the airs only were accompanied with the harp, the recitative being left to the voice. The poems of Oſſian are ſingular in another reſpect, being probably the only regular work now remaining that was compoſed in the hunter-ſtate. Some ſongs of that early period may poſſibly have eſcaped oblivion; but no other poem of the epic kind. One may advance a ſtep farther, and pronounce, with a high degree of probability, that Fingal and Temora are the only epic poems that ever were compoſed in that ſtate. How great muſt have been the talents of the author, beſet with every obſtruction to genius, the manners of his country alone excepted; a cold unhoſpitable climate; the face of the country ſo deformed as ſcarce to afford a pleaſing object; and he himſelf abſolutely illiterate! One may venture

 boldly

* Dr Blair, Profeſſor of Rhetoric in the College of Edinburgh.

boldly to affirm, that ſuch a poem as Fingal or Temora never was compoſed in any other part of the world, under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances.

Though permanent manners enter not regularly into the preſent ſketch, I am however tempted to add a few words concerning the influence of ſoil upon the manners of men. The ſtupidity of the inhabitants of New Holland, mentioned above, is occaſioned by the barrenneſs of their ſoil, yielding nothing that can be food for man or beaſt. Day and night they watch the ebb of the tide, in order to dig ſmall fiſh out of the ſand; and ſleep in the intervals, without an hour to ſpare for any other occupation. People in that condition, muſt for ever remain ignorant and brutiſh. Were all the earth barren like New Holland, all men would be ignorant and brutiſh, like the inhabitants of New Holland. On the other hand, were every portion of this earth ſo fertile as ſpontaneouſly to feed all its inhabitants, which is the golden age figured by poets, what would follow? Upon the former ſuppoſition, man would be a meagre, patient, and timid animal: upon the latter ſuppoſition, he would be pampered, lazy, and effeminate. In both caſes, he would be ſtupidly ignorant, and incapable of any manly exertion, whether of mind or body. But the ſoil of our earth is in general more wiſely accommodated to man, its chief inhabitant. It is neither ſo fertile as to ſuperſede labour, nor ſo barren

barren as to require the utmoſt labour. The laborious occupation of hunting for food, produced originally ſome degree of induſtry: and though all the induſtry of man was at firſt neceſſary for procuring food, clothing, and habitation; yet the ſoil, by ſkill in agriculture, came to produce plenty with leſs labour; which to ſome afforded time for thinking of conveniences. A habit of induſtry thus acquired, excited many to beſtow their leiſure hours upon the arts, proceeding from uſeful arts to fine arts, and from theſe to ſciences. Wealth, accumulated by induſtry, has a wonderful influence upon manners: feuds and war, the offspring of wealth, call forth into action friendſhip, courage, heroiſm, and every ſocial virtue, as well as many ſelfiſh vices. How like brutes do we paſs our time, without once reflecting on the wiſdom of Providence viſible even in the ſoil we tread upon!

Diverſity of manners, at the ſame time, enters into the plan of Providence, as well as diverſity of talents, of feelings, and of opinions. Our Maker hath given us a taſte for variety; and he hath provided objects in plenty for its gratification. Some ſoils, naturally fertile, require little labour: ſome ſoils, naturally barren, require much labour. But the advantages of the latter are more than ſufficient to counterbalance its barrenneſs: the inhabitants are ſober, induſtrious, vigorous; and conſequently courageous, as far as courage depends on bodily

ſtrength *. The diſadvantages of a fertile ſoil, on the contrary, are more than ſufficient to counterbalance its advantages: the inhabitants are rendered indolent, weak, and cowardly. Hindoſtan may ſeem to be an exception; for though it be extremely fertile, the people are induſtrious, and export manufactures in great abundance at a very low price. But Hindoſtan properly is not an exception. The Hindoos, who are prohibited by their religion to kill any living creature, muſt abandon to animals for food a large proportion of land; which obliges them to cultivate what remains with double induſtry, in order to procure food for themſelves. The populouſneſs of their country contributes alſo to make them induſtrious. Arragon was once the moſt limited monarchy in Europe, England not excepted: the barrenneſs of the ſoil was the cauſe, which rendered the people hardy and courageous. In a preamble to one of their laws, the ſtates declare, that, were they not more free than

* That a barren country is a great ſpur to induſtry, appears from Venice and Genoa in Italy, Nuremberg in Germany, and Limoges in France. The ſterility of Holland required all the induſtry of its inhabitants for procuring the neceſſaries of life; and by that means chiefly they became remarkably induſtrious. Camden aſcribes the ſucceſs of the town of Halifax in the cloth manufacture, to its barren ſoil. A ſect of pampered Engliſhmen, it is to be hoped not many in number, who center all their devotion in a luxurious board, deſpiſe Scotland for its plain fare; and in bitter contumely, characterize it as a poor country.

than other nations, the barrenneſs of their country would tempt them to abandon it. Oppoſed to Arragon ſtands Egypt, the fertility of which renders the inhabitants ſoft and effeminate, and conſequently an eaſy prey to every invader *. The fruitfulneſs of the province of Quito in Peru, and the low price of every neceſſary, occaſioned by its diſtance from the ſea, have plunged the inhabitants into ſupine indolence, and exceſſive luxury. The people of the town of Quito in particular, have abandoned themſelves to every ſort of debauchery: the time they have to ſpare from wine and women, is employed in exceſſive gaming. In other reſpects alſo the manners of a people are influenced by the country they inhabit. A great part of Calabria, formerly populous and fertile, is at preſent covered with

* Fear impreſſed by ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents, is the moſt potent cauſe of ſuperſtition. No other country is leſs liable to ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents than Egypt; no thunder, ſcarce any rain, perfect regularity in the ſeaſons, and in the riſe and fall of the river. So little notion had the Egyptians of variable weather, as to be ſurpriſed that the rivers in Greece did not overflow like the Nile. They could not comprehend how their fields were watered; rain, they ſaid, was very irregular; and what if Jupiter ſhould take a conceit to ſend them no rain? What then made the ancient Egyptians ſo ſuperſtitious? The fertility of the ſoil, and the inaction of the inhabitants during the inundation of the river, enervated both mind and body, and rendered them timid and puſillanimous. Superſtition was the offſpring of this character in Egypt, as it is of ſtrange and unforeſeen accidents in other countries.

with trees and ſhrubs, like the wilds of America; and the ferocity of its inhabitants correſponds to the rudeneſs of the fields. The ſame is viſible in the inhabitants of Mount Etna in Sicily: the country and its inhabitants are equally rugged.

SKETCH VI.

PROGRESS OF THE FEMALE SEX.

THE progreſs of the female ſex, a capital branch of the hiſtory of man, comprehends great variety of matter, curious and intereſting. But ſketches are my province, not complete hiſtories; and I propoſe in the preſent ſketch to trace the gradual progreſs of women, from their low ſtate in ſavage tribes, to their elevated ſtate in civilized nations.

With regard to the outlines, whether of internal diſpoſition or of external figure, men and women are the ſame. Nature, however, intending them for mates, has given them diſpoſitions different but concordant, ſo as to produce together delicious harmony. The man, more robuſt, is fitted for ſevere labour and for field-exerciſes: the woman, more delicate, is fitted for ſedentary occupations; and particularly for nurſing children. That difference

is

is remarkable in the mind, no leſs than in the body. A boy is always running about; delights in a top or a ball, and rides upon a ſtick as a horſe. A girl has leſs inclination to move: her firſt amuſement is a baby; which ſhe delights to dreſs and undreſs. I have ſeen oftener than once a female child under ſix getting an infant in its arms, careſſing it, ſinging, and walking about ſtaggering under the weight. A boy never thinks of ſuch a paſtime. The man, bold and vigorous, is qualified for being a protector: the woman, delicate and timid, requires protection *. The man, as a protector, is directed by nature to govern: the woman, conſcious of inferiority, is diſpoſed to obey. Their intellectual powers correſpond to the deſtination of nature: men have penetration and ſolid judgment to fit them for governing: women have ſufficient underſtanding to make a decent figure under good government; a greater proportion would excite dangerous rivalſhip. Women have more imagination and more ſenſibility than men; and yet none of them have made an eminent figure in any of the fine arts. We hear of no ſculptor nor ſtatuary among them; and none of them have riſen above a mediocrity in poetry or painting. Nature has avoided rivalſhip between the ſexes, by giving them different talents. Add another capital difference of

* From which it appears to proceed, that women naturally are more careful of their reputation than men, and more hurt by obloquy.

of diſpoſition: the gentle and inſinuating manners of the female ſex, tend to ſoften the roughneſs of the other ſex; and wherever women are indulged with any freedom, they poliſh ſooner than men *.

Theſe are not the only particulars that diſtinguiſh the ſexes. With reſpect to matrimony, it is the privilege of the male, as ſuperior and protector, to make a choice; the female preferred has no privilege but barely to conſent or to refuſe. Nature fits them for theſe different parts: the male is bold, the female baſhful. Hence among all nations it is the practice for men to court, and for women to be courted: which holds alſo among many other animals, probably among all that pair.

Another diſtinction is equally viſible: The maſter of a family is immediately connected with his country; his wife, his children, his ſervants, are immediately connected with him, and with their country through him only. Women accordingly have

* The chief quality of women, ſays Rouſſeau, is ſweetneſs of temper. Made by nature for ſubmiſſion in the married ſtate, they ought to learn to ſuffer wrong, even without complaining. Sourneſs and ſtubborneſs ſerve but to increaſe the huſband's unkindneſs and their own diſtreſſes. It was not to indulge bad humour, that Heaven beſtowed on them manners insinuating and perſuaſive: they were not made weak in order to be imperious: a ſweet voice ſuits ill with ſcolding; delicate features ought not to be disfigured with paſſion. They frequently may have reaſon for complaints: but never, to utter them publicly.

have leſs patriotiſm than men; and leſs bitterneſs againſt the enemies of their country.

The peculiar modeſty of the female ſex, is alſo a diſtinguiſhing circumſtance. Nature hath provided them with it as a defence againſt the artful ſolicitations of the other ſex before marriage, and alſo as a ſupport of conjugal fidelity.

A fundamental article in the preſent ſketch is matrimony; and it has been much controverted, whether it be an appointment of nature, or only of municipal law. Many writers have exerciſed their talents in that controverſy, but without giving ſatisfaction to a judicious inquirer. If I miſtake not, it may be determined upon ſolid principles; and as it is of importance in the hiſtory of man, the reader, I am hopeful, will not be diſguſted at the length of the argument.

Many writers hold that women were originally common; that animal love was gratified as among horſes and horned cattle; and that matrimony was not known, till nations grew in ſome degree to be orderly and refined. I ſelect Cicero as an author of authority: "Nam fuit quoddam tempus, cum "in agris homines paſſim, beſtiarum more, vaga-"bantur, et ſibi victu ferino vitam propagabant: "nec ratione animi quicquam ſed pleraque viribus "corporis adminiſtrabant. Nondum divinæ re-"ligionis non humani officii ratio colebatur. Nemo "legitimas viderat nuptias, non certos quiſquam "inſpexerat

" inſpexerat liberos *."—Pliny, in ſupport of that doctrine, informs us, that among the Garamantes, an African nation, male and female lived promiſcuouſly together, without any notion of matrimony. Among the Auſes, a people of Libya, as Herodotus ſays, matrimony was not known, and men cohabited with women indifferently, like other animals. A boy educated by his mother was at a certain age admitted to an aſſembly of men, and the man he clung to was reputed his father. Juſtin and other authors report, that before Cecrops, who reigned in Attica about 1600 years before Chriſt, marriage was not known in Greece; and that the burden of children lay upon the mother.

Before entering directly into the matter, it is proper to remove, if poſſible, the bias of theſe great names. The practice of the Garamantes and of the Auſes is mentioned by Pliny and Herodotus as ſingular; and, were it even well vouched, it would avail very little againſt the practice of all other nations. Little weight can be laid upon Pliny's evidence in particular, conſidering what he reports, in the ſame chapter, of the Blemmyans, that they had

* " For there was a time, when men, like the brutes, roam-
" ed abroad over the earth, and fed like wild beaſts upon
" other animals. Then reaſon bore no ſway, but all was
" ruled by ſuperior ſtrength. The ties of religion, and the
" obligations of morality, were then unfelt. Lawful mar-
" riage was unknown, and no father was certain of his off-
" ſpring."—De Inventione, lib. I.

had no head, and that the mouth and eyes were in the breaſt. Pliny at the ſame time, as well as Herodotus, being very deficient in natural knowledge, were groſsly credulous; and cannot be relied on with reſpect to any thing ſtrange or uncommon. As to what is reported of ancient Greece, Cecrops poſſibly prohibited polygamy, or introduced ſome other matrimonial regulation, which by writers might be miſtaken for a law appointing matrimony. However that be, one part of the report is undoubtedly erroneous; for it will be made evident afterward, that, in the hunter-ſtate, or even in that of ſhepherds, it is impracticable for any woman, by her own induſtry alone, to rear a numerous iſſue. If this be at all poſſible, it can only be in the torrid zone, where people live on fruits and roots, which are produced in plenty with very little labour. Upon that account, Diodorus Siculus is leſs blameable for liſtening to a report, that the inhabitants of Taprobana, ſuppoſed to be the iſland of Ceylon, never marry, but that women are uſed promiſcuouſly. At the ſame time, as there is no ſuch cuſtom at preſent in the Eaſt Indies, there is no good ground to believe, that it ever was cuſtomary; and the Eaſt Indies were ſo little known to the ancient Greeks, that their authors cannot be much relied on, in the accounts they give of that diſtant region. The authority of Cicero, however reſpectable in other matters, will not be much regarded upon the preſent queſtion, when

when the paſſage above quoted is diſſected. How crude muſt his notions be of the primitive ſtate of man, when he denies to ſavages any ſenſe of religion or of moral duty! Ought we to rely more on him, when he denies that they have any notion of matrimony? Cæſar's account of the ancient Britons approaches the neareſt to a looſe commerce with women, though in the main it is good evidence againſt Cicero. It was common, he ſays, for a number of brothers, or other near relations, to uſe their wives promiſcuouſly. The offſpring however were not common; for each man maintained the children that were produced by his own wife. Herodotus reports the ſame of the Maſſagetæ.

Laying thus aſide the great names of Cicero, Herodotus, and Pliny, the field lies open to a fair and impartial inveſtigation. And as the means provided by nature for continuing the race of other animals, may probably throw light upon the economy of nature with reſpect to man; I begin with that article, which has not engaged the attention of naturaliſts ſo much as it ought to have done. With reſpect to animals whoſe nouriſhment is graſs, pairing would be of no uſe: the female feeds herſelf and her young at the ſame inſtant; and nothing is left for the male to do. On the other hand, all brute animals whoſe young require the nurſing care of both parents, are directed by nature to pair; nor is that connection diſſolved till the

till the young can provide for themſelves. Pairing is indiſpenſable to wild birds that build on trees; becauſe the male muſt provide food for his mate while ſhe is hatching the eggs. And as they have commonly a numerous iſſue, it requires the labour of both to pick up food for themſelves and for their young. Upon that account it is ſo ordered, that the young are ſufficiently vigorous to provide for themſelves, before a new brood is produced.

What I have now opened ſuggeſts the following queſtion, Whether, according to the economy above diſplayed, are we to preſume, or not, that man is directed by nature to matrimony? If analogy can be relied on, the affirmative muſt be held, as there is no other creature in the known world to which pairing is ſo neceſſary. Man is an animal of long life, and is proportionally ſlow in growing to maturity: he is a helpleſs being before the age of fifteen or ſixteen; and there may be in a family ten or twelve children of different births, before the eldeſt can ſhift for itſelf. Now, in the original ſtate of hunting and fiſhing, which are laborious occupations, and not always ſucceſsful, a woman, ſuckling her infant, is not able to provide food even for herſelf, far leſs for ten or twelve voracious children. Matrimony, therefore, or pairing, is ſo neceſſary to the human race, that it muſt be natural and inſtinctive. When ſuch ample means are provided for continuing every other animal race, is it ſuppoſable that the chief race is

 neglected?

neglected? Providential care defcends even to vegetable life; every plant bears a profufion of feed; and in order to cover the earth with vegetables, fome feeds have wings, fome are fcattered by means of a fpring, and fome are fo light as to be carried about by the wind. Brute animals which do not pair, have grafs and other food in plenty, enabling the female to feed her young without needing any affiftance from the male. But where the young require the nurfing care of both parents, pairing is a law of nature. When other races are fo amply provided for, can it be ferioufly thought, that Providence is lefs attentive to the human race? If men and women were not impelled by nature to matrimony, they would be lefs fitted for continuing the fpecies, than even the humbleft plant. Have we not then reafon fairly to conclude, that matrimony in the human race is an appointment of nature? Can that conclufion be refifted by any one who believes in Providence, and in final caufes *.

To confirm this doctrine, let the confequences of a loofe commerce between the fexes be examined. The carnal appetite, when confined to one object, feldom tranfgreffes the bounds of temperance.

* It appears a wife appointment of Providence, that women give over child-bearing at fifty, while they are ftill in vigour of mind and body to take care of their offspring. Did the power of procreation continue in women to old age as in men, children would often be left in the wide world, without a mortal to look after them.

rance. But were it encouraged to roam, like a bee ſucking honey from every flower, every new object would inflame the imagination; and ſatiety with reſpect to one, would give new vigour with reſpect to others: a generic habit would be formed of intemperance in fruition *; and animal love would become the ruling paſſion. Men, like the hart in rutting-time, would all the year round fly with impetuoſity from object to object, giving no quarter even to women ſuckling their infants: and women, abandoning themſelves to the ſame appetite, would become altogether regardleſs of their offspring. In that ſtate, the continuance of the human race would be a miracle. In the ſavage ſtate, as mentioned above, it is beyond the power of any woman to provide food for a family of children; and now it appears, that intemperance in animal love would render a woman careleſs of her family, however eaſy it might be to provide for it †.

* Elements of Criticiſm, chap. 14.

† I have often been tempted to blame Providence for bringing to perfection in early youth the carnal appetite long before people have acquired any prudence or ſelf-command. It rages the moſt when young men ſhould be employed in acquiring knowledge, and in fitting themſelves for living comfortably in the world. I have ſet this thought in various lights; but I now perceive that the cenſure is without foundation. The early ripeneſs of this appetite, proves it to be the intention

I ſay more. The promiſcuous uſe of women would unqualify them in a great meaſure to procreate. The carnal appetite in man reſembles his appetite for food: each of them demands gratification, after ſhort intervals. Where the carnal appetite is felt but a ſhort ſpace annually, as among animals who feed on graſs, the promiſcuous uſe of females is according to the order of nature: but ſuch a law in man, where the carnal appetite is always awake, would be an effectual bar to procreation; it being an undoubted truth, that women who indulge that appetite to exceſs, ſeldom have children; and if all women were common, all women would in effect be common proſtitutes.

If undiſguiſed nature ſhow itſelf any where, it is in children. So truly is matrimony an appointment of nature, as to be underſtood even by children.

intention of Providence that people ſhould early ſettle in matrimony. In that ſtate the appetite is abundantly moderate, and gives no obſtruction to education. It never becomes unruly, till a man, forgetting the matrimonial tie, wanders from object to object. Pride and luxury are what dictate late marriages: induſtry never fails to afford the means of living comfortably, provided men confine themſelves to the demands of nature. A young man, at the ſame time, who has the care of a family upon him, is impelled to be active in order to provide food for them. And ſuppoſing him to have a ſufficiency without labour, attention to his wife and children produces a habit of doing good, which is regularly extended to all around. And married men become thus good citizens; and ſome of them eminent patriots.

dren. They often hear, it is true, people talking of matrimony; but they alſo hear of logical, metaphyſical, and commercial matters, without underſtanding a ſyllable. Whence then their notion of marriage but from nature? Marriage is a compound idea, which no inſtruction could bring within the comprehenſion of a child, did not nature cooperate.

That the arguments urged above againſt a promiſcuous uſe of women, do not neceſſarily conclude againſt polygamy, or the union of one man with a plurality of women, will not eſcape an attentive reader. St Auguſtin and other fathers admit, that polygamy is not prohibited by the law of nature; and the learned Grotius profeſſes the ſame opinion *. But great names terrify me not; and I venture to maintain, that pairing, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, is a law of nature among men as among wild birds; and that polygamy is a groſs infringement of that law. My reaſons follow.

I urge, in the firſt place, the equal number of males and females, as a clear indication that Providence intends every man to be confined to one wife, and every woman to one huſband. That equality, which has ſubſiſted in all countries and at all times, is a ſignal inſtance of over-ruling Providence; for the chances againſt it are infinite. All men are by nature equal in rank; no man is privileged above another to have a wife; and

* De jure belli ac pacis, lib. 2. cap. 5. § 9.

therefore polygamy is contradictory to the plan of Providence. Were ten women born for one man, as is erroneouſly reported to be the caſe in Bantam, polygamy might be the intention of Providence; but from the equality of males and females, it is clearly the voice of nature, as well as of the Sacred Scripture, "That a man ſhall leave "his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; "and they ſhall be one fleſh."

Conſider, in the next place, that however plauſible polygamy may appear in the preſent ſtate of things, where inequality of rank and of fortune have produced luxury and ſenſuality; yet that the laws of nature were not contrived by our Maker for a forced ſtate, where numberleſs individuals are degraded below their natural rank, for the benefit of a few who are elevated above it. To form a juſt notion of polygamy, we muſt look back to the original ſtate of man, where all are equal. In that ſtate, every man cannot have two wives; and conſequently no man is entitled to more than one, till every other be upon an equal footing with him. At the ſame time, the union of one man with one woman is much better calculated for continuing the race, than the union of one man with many women. Think of a ſavage who may have fifty or ſixty children by different wives, all depending for food upon his induſtry: chance muſt turn out much in his favour, if the half of them periſh not by hunger. How much a

better

better chance for life have infants who are diſtributed more equally in different families?

Polygamy has an effect ſtill more pernicious, with reſpect to children even of the moſt opulent families. Unleſs affection be reciprocal and equal, there can be no proper ſociety in the matrimonial ſtate, no cordiality, nor due care of offſpring. But ſuch affection is inconſiſtent with polygamy: a woman in that ſtate, far from being a companion to her huſband, is degraded to the rank of a ſervant, a mere inſtrument of pleaſure and propagation. Among many wives there will always be a favourite: the reſt turn peeviſh; and if they reſent not the injury againſt their huſband, and againſt their children as belonging to him, they will at leaſt be diſheartened, and turn negligent of them. At the ſame time, fondneſs for the favourite wife and her children, makes the huſband indifferent about the reſt; and woful is the condition of children who are neglected by both parents *. To produce ſuch an effect, is certainly not the purpoſe of nature.

It merits peculiar attention, that Providence has provided for an agreeable union, among all creatures who are taught by nature to pair. Animal love among creatures who pair not, is confined within a narrow ſpace of time: while the dam is occupied about her young, animal love lies dormant,

* L'Eſprit des Loix, liv. 16. chap. 6.

mant, that ſhe may not be abſtracted from her duty. In pairing animals, on the contrary, animal love is always awake: frequent enjoyment endears a pair to each other, and makes conſtancy a pleaſure. Such is the caſe of the human race; and ſuch is the caſe of wild birds *. Among the wild birds that build on trees, the male, after feeding his mate in the neſt, plants himſelf upon the next ſpray, and cheers her with a ſong †. There is ſtill greater enjoyment provided for the human race in the matrimonial ſtate, and ſtronger incitements to conſtancy. Sweet is the ſociety of a pair fitted for each other, in whom are collected the affections of huſband, wife, lover, friend, the tendereſt affections of human nature. Public government is in perfection, when the ſovereign commands with humanity, and the ſubjects are cordial in their obedience. Private government in conjugal ſociety arrives at ſtill greater perfection, where huſband and wife govern and are governed reciprocally, with entire ſatisfaction to both. The man bears rule over his wife's perſon and conduct; ſhe bears rule over his inclinations: he governs by law: ſhe by perſuaſion. Nor can her authority ever

* Buffon, lib. 5. p. 359. octavo edition.

† A male canary bird, ſinging to his mate on her neſt in a breeding-cage, fell down dead. The female alarmed left her neſt and pecked at him: finding him immovable, ſhe refuſed nouriſhment, and died at his ſide.

ever fail, where it is ſupported by ſweetneſs of temper, and zeal to make him happy *.

The

* " L'empire de la femme eſt un empire de douceur, d'addreſſe, et de complaiſance ; ſes ordres ſont des careſſes, ſes menaces ſont des pleurs. Elle doit regner dans la maiſon comme un miniſtre dans l'etat, en ſe faiſant commander ce qu'elle veut faire. En ce ſens il eſt conſtant que les meilleurs ménages ſont ceux où la femme a le plus d'autorité. Mais quand elle meconnoit la voix du chef, qu'elle veut uſurper ſes droits et commander elle même : il ne reſulte jamais de ce deſordre, que miſere, ſcandale, et diſhonneur ;" *Rouſſeau, Emile, liv.* 5. *p.* 96. —[*In Engliſh thus :* " The empire of the woman is an empire " of ſoftneſs, of addreſs, of complacency ; her commands are " careſſes, her menaces are tears. She ought to reign in the " family like a miniſter in the ſtate, by making that which is " her inclination be enjoined to her as her duty. Thus it is " evident, that the beſt domeſtic œconomy is that where the " wife has moſt authority. But when ſhe is inſenſible to the " voice of her chief, when ſhe tries to uſurp his prerogative, " and to command alone, what can reſult from ſuch diſorder, " but miſery, ſcandal, and diſhonour ?"]—The Empreſs Livia being queſtioned by a married lady, how ſhe had obtained ſuch aſcendent over her huſband Auguſtus, anſwered, " By " being obedient to his commands, by not wiſhing to know his " ſecrets, and by hiding my knowledge of his amours." The late Queen of Spain was a woman of ſingular prudence, and of ſolid judgment. A character of her, publiſhed after her death, contains the following paſſage : " She had a great aſ- " cendency over the King, founded on his perſuaſion of her " ſuperior ſenſe, which ſhe ſhowed in a perfect ſubmiſſion to " his commands ; the more eaſily obeyed, as they were com- " monly, though to him imperceptibly, dictated by herſelf. " She cured him of many foibles, and, in a word, was his " Minerva, under the appearance of Mentor."

The God of nature has enforced conjugal ſociety, not only by making it agreeable, but by the principle of chaſtity inherent in our nature. To animals that have no inſtinct for pairing, chaſtity is utterly unknown; and to them it would be uſeleſs. The mare, the cow, the ewe, the ſhe-goat, receive the male without ceremony, and admit the firſt that comes in the way without diſtinction. Neither have tame fowl any notion of chaſtity: they pair not; and the female gets no food from the male, even during incubation. But chaſtity and mutual fidelity are eſſential to all pairing animals; for wandering inclinations would render them negligent in nurſing their young. Wild birds pair; and they are by inſtinct faithful to each other, while their young require nurture. Chaſtity is eſſential to the human race; enforced by the principle of chaſtity, a branch of the moral ſenſe. Chaſtity is eſſential even to the continuation of the human race. As the carnal appetite is always alive, the ſexes would wallow in pleaſure, and be ſoon rendered unfit for procreation, were it not for the reſtraint of chaſtity.

Nor is chaſtity confined to the matrimonial ſtate. Matrimony is inſtituted by nature for continuing the ſpecies; and it is the duty of man to abſtain from animal enjoyment, except in that ſtate. The ceremonies of marriage and the cauſes of ſeparation and divorce, are ſubjected to municipal law: but, if a man beget children, it is his duty to unite with

with the mother in taking care of them; and ſuch union is matrimony according to the law of nature. Hence it is, that the firſt acts of incontinence, where enjoyment only is in view, are always attended with ſhame, and with a degree of remorſe *. At the ſame time, as chaſtity in perſons who are ſingle is only a ſelf-duty, it is not ſo ſtrongly enforced by the moral ſenſe as chaſtity is in married perſons, who owe fidelity to each other. Deviations accordingly from the former make a leſs figure than from the latter: we ſcarce ever hear of adultery among ſavages; though among them incontinence before marriage is not uncommon. In Wales, even at preſent, and in the Highlands of Scotland, it is ſcarce a diſgrace for a young woman to have a baſtard. In the country laſt mentioned, the firſt inſtance known of a baſtard-child being deſtroyed by its mother through ſhame, is a late one. The virtue of chaſtity appears to be there gaining ground; as the only temptation a woman can have to deſtroy her child, is to conceal her frailty. The principle of chaſtity, like that of propriety or of decency, is faint among ſavages; and has little of that influence which prevails among poliſhed nations before they are corrupted

" * Quand enfin cette aimable jeuneſſe vient à ſe marier, les deux époux ſe donnant mutuellement les premices de leur perſonne, en ſont plus chers l'un à l'autre; des multitudes d'enfans ſains et robuſtes deviennent le gage d'une union que rien n'altere;" *Roſſeau, Emile.*

rupted by luxury. We ſhall have occaſion to ſee afterward, that even the great duty of juſtice is faint among barbarians; and that it yields readily to every irregular impulſe, before the moral ſenſe has arrived to maturity.

Chaſtity is a reſtraint upon nature; and, therefore, if ſhame be removed by making it lawful to obey the appetite, nature will prevail. In the year 1707, a contagious diſtemper having carried off a large proportion of the inhabitants of Iceland, the King of Denmark fell on a device to re-people the country, which ſucceeded to a wiſh. A law was made, authoriſing young women in that iſland to have baſtards, even to the number of ſix, without wounding their reputation*. The young women were ſo zealous to repeople their country, that after a few years it was found proper to abrogate the law.

Modeſty is by nature intended to guard chaſtity, as chaſtity is to guard matrimony. And modeſty, like chaſtity, is one of thoſe delicate principles that make no great figure among ſavages. In the land of Jeſſo, young women ſometimes go naked in ſummer

* Don Juan de Ulloa, in his voyage to Peru, mentions a very ſingular taſte prevalent in that country, that a man never takes a virgin to wife; and thinks himſelf diſhonoured if his wife have not, before marriage, enjoyed many lovers. If we can truſt Paulus Venetus, a young woman of Thibet, in Aſia, is not reckoned fit to be married till ſhe be deflowered.

mer: if however they meet a ſtranger, they hang the head, and turn away through ſhame. Nature here is their only inſtructor *. Some ſavage tribes have ſo little notion of modeſty, as to go naked, without even covering their privy parts. Regnard reports, upon his own knowledge, that in Lapland, man, woman, and child, take the hot bath promiſcuouſly, and are not aſhamed to be ſeen in that condition, even by a ſtranger. As this appeared ſingular, I took an opportunity to mention it to Dr Solander, who had made more than one viſit to that country. He ſaid, that Regnard's report might be true; but without any imputation on the modeſty of the Laplanders, for that their place of bathing is always ſo dark that nothing can be ſeen. He added, that the females in Lapland, both married and unmarried, are extremely chaſte. The inhabitants of Otaheité, if Bougainville can be truſted, ſeem to have as little notion of modeſty as of chaſtity. But many of that author's facts ſtand contradicted by later voyagers. The women of New Zealand are both chaſte and modeſt. Captain Cook, in his voyage round the world, ſtumbled upon ſome of them naked, diving for lobſters; and they were in great confuſion for being ſeen in that condition by ſtrangers.

But

* Doth not modeſty prevail among many animals? Elephants are never ſeen in copulation, nor cats, nor beaſts of prey.

But now, if pairing in the ſtricteſt ſenſe be a law of nature among men, as among ſome other animals, how is polygamy to be accounted for, which formerly was univerſal, and to this day obtains among many nations? Polygamy, I anſwer, is derived from two ſources; firſt, from ſavage manners, once univerſal; and next, from voluptuouſneſs in warm climates, which inſtigates men of wealth to tranſgreſs every rule of temperance. Theſe two ſources I propoſe to handle with care, becauſe they make a large branch in the hiſtory of the female ſex.

With reſpect to the firſt, ſweetneſs of temper, a capital article in the female character, diſplays itſelf externally by mild looks and gentle manners. But ſuch graces are ſcarce diſcernible in a female ſavage; and even in the moſt poliſhed women, would not be perceived by a male ſavage. Among ſavages, ſtrength and boldneſs are the only valued qualities: in theſe females are miſerably deficient: and for that reaſon, are contemned by the males, as beings of an inferior order. The North American tribes glory in idleneſs: the drudgery of labour degrades a man in their opinion, and is proper for women only. To join young perſons in marriage is accordingly the buſineſs of parents; and it would be unpardonable meanneſs in the bridegroom, to ſhew any fondneſs for the bride. Young men among the Hottentots, are admitted into ſociety with their ſeniors at the age of eighteen; after

after which it is diſgraceful to keep company with women. In Guiana, a woman never eats with her huſband; but after every meal attends him with water for waſhing. In the Carribbee iſlands, ſhe is not permitted to eat even in preſence of her huſband; and yet we are aſſured *, that women there obey with ſuch ſweetneſs and reſpect, as never to give their huſbands occaſion to remind them of their duty; "an example," adds our ſage author, "worthy the imitation of Chriſtian wives, "who are daily inſtructed from the pulpit in the "duties of obedience and conjugal fidelity, *but to* "*very little purpoſe.*" Dampier obſerves in general, that, among all the wild nations he was acquainted with, the women carry the burdens, while the men walk before, and carry nothing but their arms. Women even of the higheſt rank are not better treated. The ſovereign of Giaga, in Africa, has many wives, who are literally his ſlaves: one carries his bow, one his arrows, and one gives him drink; and while he is drinking they all fall on their knees, clap their hands, and ſing. Not many centuries ago, a law was made in England, prohibiting the New Teſtament in Engliſh to be read by women, 'prentices, journeymen, or ſerving men †. What a pitiful figure muſt the poor females have made in that age! In Siberia, and even in Ruſſia, the capital excepted, men

* Labat's Voyages to the American Iſlands.

† 34th and 35th Henry VIII. cap. 1.

men treat their wives in every reſpect as ſlaves. The regulations of Peter I. put marriage upon a more reſpectable footing among people of rank; and yet ſuch are the brutal manners of the Ruſſians, that tyrannical treatment of wives is far from being eradicated.

The low condition of the female ſex among ſavages and barbarians, paved the way to polygamy. Savages, excited by a taſte for variety, and ſtill more by pride, which is gratified by many ſervants, delight in a multiplicity of wives. The pairing principle, though rooted in human nature, makes little figure among ſavages, yielding to every irregular appetite; and this fairly accounts why polygamy was once univerſal. It might indeed be thought, that animal love, were there nothing elſe, ſhould have raiſed women to ſome degree of eſtimation among the men. But male ſavages, utter ſtrangers to decency or refinement, gratify animal love with as little ceremony as they do hunger or thirſt.

Hence appears the reaſon of a practice that will ſurpriſe thoſe who are unacquainted with ancient cuſtoms; which is, that a man purchaſed a woman to be his wife, as one purchaſes an ox or a ſheep to be food. Women by marriage became ſlaves; and no man will give his daughter to be a ſlave, but for a valuable conſideration. The practice was univerſal. I begin with the Jews. Abraham bought Rebekah, and gave her to his ſon Iſaac for

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a wife *. Jacob, having nothing elſe to give, ſerved Laban fourteen years for two wives †. Sechem demanding in marriage Dinah, Jacob's daughter, ſaid, " Aſk me never ſo much dowry and gift, and " I will give according as ye ſhall ſay unto me: " but give me the damſel to wife ‡." To David demanding Saul's daughter in marriage, Saul ſaid, " The king deſireth not any dowry, but an hun- " dred foreſkins of the Philiſtines §." In the Iliad, Agamemnon offers his daughter to Achilles for a wife; and ſays, that he would not demand for her any price. Pauſanias reports of Danaus, that no ſuitors appearing to demand any of his daughters, he publiſhed, that he would give them without dowry. In Homer, there is frequent mention of nuptial gifts from a bridegroom to his bride's father. From terming them gifts, it is probable that the former method of purchaſe was beginning to wear out. It wore out before the time of Ariſtotle; who infers, that their forefathers muſt have been a very rude people. The ancient Spaniards purchaſed their wives. We have the authority of Herodotus and of Heraclides Ponticus, that the Thracians followed the ſame practice. The latter adds, that if a wife was ill treated, her relations could demand her back, upon repaying the price they got for her. In the Roman law mention is made of matrimony *per æs et*

* Geneſis, xxiv. 53.
† Geneſis, chap. xxix.
‡ Geneſis, xxxiv. 12.
§ 1 Samuel, xviii. 25.

libram, which was ſolemnized by laying down a quantity of braſs with a balance for weighing it, underſtood to be the price paid for the bride. This muſt have been once a reality; though it ſunk down to be a mere ceremony, after it became cuſtomary for a Roman bride to bring a dowry with her. The Babylonians and the Aſſyrians, at ſtated times, collected all the marriageable young women, and diſpoſed of them by auction. Rubruguis, in his voyage to Tartary *anno* 1253, reports, that there every man bought his wife. "They believe, he adds, that their wives ſerve "them in another world as they do in this; for "which reaſon, a widow has no chance for a ſe-"cond huſband, whom ſhe cannot ſerve in the "other world." Olaus Magnus, remarking that among the ancient Goths no dower was provided on the bride's part, gives a reaſon, better ſuited perhaps to the time he lived in, than to what he deſcribes. "Apud Gothos, non mulier viro ſed "vir mulieri dotem aſſignat; ne conjux, ob mag-"nitudinem dotis inſoleſcens, aliquando ex pla-"cida conſorte proterva evadet, atque in ma-"ritum dominari contendat*;" as if the hazard of petulance in a wife would hinder a man to accept a dower with her:—a ſad doctrine for an heireſs. There is preſerved in the abbey of St Peter

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* "Among the Goths, a man gave a dowry for his bride, "inſtead of receiving one with her; to prevent pride and in-"ſolence, that commonly accompany riches on the woman's "part."

a charter, judged to be 700 years old, in which the Countefs of Amiens gifts to the faid Abbey land fhe received from her hufband at their marriage, "according to the Salic law," fays fhe, "obliging the hufband to give a dowry to his wife." By the laws of King Ethelbert, fect. 32. a man who committed adultery with his neighbour's wife, was obliged to pay him a fine, and to buy him another wife. Giraldus Cambrenfis, in his defcription of Wales, fays, that formerly they hardly ever married without a prior cohabitation; it having been cuftomary for parents to let out their daughters to young men upon trial, for a fum of money told down, and under a penalty if the girls were returned. This I believe to be a miftake. It is more probable, that in Wales men purchafed their wives, as was done all the world over, with liberty to return them if they proved not agreeable. The bride's parents retained the dowry, and her chance for a hufband was as good as ever.

The fame cuftom continues among barbarous nations. It continues among the Tartars, among the Mingrelians, among the Samoides, among the Oftiacs, among the people of Pegu, and of the Molucca iflands. In the ifland of Sumatra, a man purchafes his wives. He may return a wife to her relations; but they keep the purchafe-money. If a woman diflike her hufband, fhe or her relations muft pay to him double the purchafe-money. In Timor, an Eaft-Indian ifland, men fell even their

children to purchaſe more wives. The Prince of Circaſſia demanded from the Prince of Mingrelia, who was in ſuit of his daughter, a hundred ſlaves loaded with tapeſtry and other houſehold-furniture, a hundred cows, as many oxen, and as many horſes. We have evidence of the ſame cuſtom in Africa, particularly in Biledulgerid, among the Negroes on the ſea-coaſt, and in Monomotapa. Among the Caribbees, there is one inſtance where a man gets a wife without paying for her. After a ſucceſsful war, the victors are entertained at a feaſt, where the General harangues on the valour of the young men who made the beſt figure. Every man who has marriageable daughters, is fond to offer them to ſuch young men without any price. The purchaſing of wives is univerſal among the wild Arabs. When the bargain is concluded, the bridegroom is permitted to viſit the bride: if ſhe anſwer not his expectations, he may turn her off; but has no claim for the price he paid. In Arabia, ſays Niebuhr, a young married woman ſuſpected of not being a virgin, is ſent back to her father, who muſt reſtore the price that was paid for her. The inland Negroes are more poliſhed than thoſe on the coaſt; and there is ſcarce any remains among them of purchaſing wives: the bridegroom makes preſents to his bride, and her father makes preſents to him. There are remaining traces in Ruſſia of purchaſing wives. Even ſo late as the time of Peter I. Ruſſians married without ſeeing each other; and before

fore ſolemnization, the bride received from the bridegroom a preſent of ſweatmeats, ſoap, and other little things.

The purchaſing of wives made it a lawful practice, to lend a wife as one does a ſlave. The Spartans lent their wives to their friends; and Cato the elder is ſaid to have done the ſame. The Indians of Calicut frequently exchange wives.

If brutiſh manners alone be ſufficient to degrade the female ſex, they may reckon upon harſh treatment when purchaſed to be ſlaves. The Giagas, a fierce and wandering nation in the central parts of Africa, being ſupinely idle at home, ſubject their wives and their ſlaves to every ſort of drudgery, ſuch as digging, ſowing, reaping, cutting wood, grinding corn, fetching water, &c. Theſe poor creatures are ſuffered to toil in the fields and woods, ready to faint with exceſſive labour; while the monſters of men will not give themſelves the trouble even of training animals for work, though they have the example of the Portugueſe before their eyes. It is the buſineſs of the women among the wandering Arabs of Africa, to card, ſpin, and weave, and to manage other houſehold affairs. They milk the cattle, grind, bake, brew, dreſs the victuals, and bring home wood and water. They even take care of their huſband's horſes, feed, curry, comb, bridle, and ſaddle them. They would alſo be obliged, like Mooriſh wives, to dig, ſow, and reap their corn; but luckily for them the

Arabs live entirely upon plunder. Father Joſeph Gumilla, in his account of a country in South America, bordering upon the great river Oroonoko, deſcribes pathetically the miſerable ſlavery of married women there; and mentions a practice, that would appear incredible to one unacquainted with that country, which is, that married women frequently deſtroy their female infants. A married woman, of a virtuous character and good underſtanding, having been guilty of that crime, was reproached by our author in bitter terms. She heard him patiently with eyes fixed on the ground; and anſwered as follows: "I wiſh to God, Father, I wiſh to God, that my mother had by my death prevented the manifold diſtreſſes I have endured, and have yet to endure as long as I live. Had ſhe kindly ſtifled me at birth, I had not felt the pain of death, nor numberleſs other pains that life hath ſubjected me to. Conſider, Father, our deplorable condition. Our huſbands go to hunt with their bows and arrows, and trouble themſelves no farther. We are dragged along, with one infant at the breaſt, and another in a baſket. They return in the evening without any burden: we return with the burden of our children; and, though tired with a long march, are not permitted to ſleep, but muſt labour the whole night, in grinding maize to make chica for them. They get drunk, and in their drunkenneſs beat us, draw us by the hair of the head, "and

" and tread us under foot. And what have we to " comfort us for ſlavery that has no end? A young " wife is brought in upon us, who is permitted to " abuſe us and our children, becauſe we are no " longer regarded. Can human nature endure " ſuch tyranny! What kindneſs can we ſhow to " our female children equal to that of relieving " them from ſuch oppreſſion, more bitter a thou- " ſand times than death? I ſay again, would to " God that my mother had put me under ground " the moment I was born." One would readily imagine, that the women of that country ſhould have the greateſt abhorrence at matrimony: but all-prevailing nature determines the contrary; and the appetite for matrimony overbalances every rational conſideration.

Nations poliſh by degrees; and, from the loweſt ſtate to which a human creature can be reduced, women were reſtored to their native dignity. Attention to dreſs is the firſt ſymptom of the progreſs. Male ſavages, even of the groſſeſt kind, are fond of dreſs. Charlevoix mentions a young American hired as a rower, who adjuſted his dreſs with care before he entered the boat; and at intervals inſpected his looking-glaſs, to ſee whether violence of motion had not diſcompoſed the red upon his cheeks. We read not of paſſion for dreſs in females of ſuch ſavage nations: they are too much diſpirited to think of being agreeable. Among nations in any degree humanized, a different ſcene

opens. In the iſthmus of Darien, government has made ſome progreſs, and a chieftain is elected for life: a glimmering of civility appears among the inhabitants; and as ſome regard is paid to women, they rival the men in dreſs. Both ſexes wear rings in their ears and noſes; and are adorned with many rows of ſhells hanging from the neck. A female in a ſultry climate ſubmits to fry all day long, under a load of twenty or thirty pounds of ſhells; and a male under double that load. Well may they exclaim with Alexander, "Oh Athe-"nians! what do I not endure to gain your ap-"probation!" The female Caribbeans and Braſilians, are no leſs fond of ornament than the males. Hottentot ladies ſtrive to outdo each other in adorning their croſſes, and the bag that holds their pipe and tobacco: European ladies are not more vain of their ſilks and embroideries. Women in Lapland are much addicted to finery. They wear broad girdles, upon which hang chains and rings without end, commonly made of tin, ſometimes of ſilver, weighing perhaps twenty pounds. The Greenlanders are naſty and ſlovenly, eat with their dogs, make food of the vermin that make food of them, ſeldom or never waſh themſelves; and yet the women, who make ſome figure among the men, are gaudy in their dreſs. Their cheif ornaments are pendants at their ears, with glaſs beads of various colours; and they draw lines with a needle and black thread between their eyes, croſs the fore-

head,

head, upon the chin, hands, and legs. The Negroes of the kingdom of Ardrah in Guinea have made a confiderable progrefs in police, and in the art of living. Their women carry drefs and finery to an extravagance. They are cloathed with loads of the fineft fatins and chintzes, and are adorned with a profufion of gold. In a fultry climate, they gratify vanity at the expence of eafe. Among the inland Negroes, who are more polifhed than thofe on the fea-coaft, the women, befide domeftic concerns, fow, plant, and reap. A man however fuffers in the efteem of his neighbours, if he permit his wives to toil like flaves, while he is indulging in eafe.

From that aufpicious commencement, the female fex have rifen, in a flow but fteady progrefs, to higher and higher degrees of eftimation. Converfation is their talent, and a difplay of delicate fentiments; the gentlenefs of their manners and winning behaviour, captivate every fenfible heart. Of fuch refinements, favages have little conception: but, when the more delicate fenfes are unfolded, the peculiar beauties of the female fex, internal as well as external, are brought into full light; and women, formerly confidered as objects of animal love merely, are now valued as faithful friends and agreeable companions. Matrimony affumes a more decent form, being the union, not of a mafter and flave, but of two perfons equal in rank uniting to form a family. And it contributed greatly to this delicious

delicious refinement, that in temperate climes animal love is moderate, and women long retain good looks, and power of procreation. Thus marriage became honourable among polished nations: which banished the barbarous custom of purchasing wives; for a man who wishes to have his daughter advantageously matched, will gladly give a dowry with her.

Polygamy is intimately connected with the custom of purchasing wives. There is no limitation in purchasing slaves: nor has a woman purchased as a wife or a slave, any just cause for complaining that others are purchased as she was: on the contrary, addition of hands for performing the servile offices of the family, is some relief to her. Polygamy accordingly has always been permitted, where men pay for their wives. The Jews purchased their wives, and were indulged in polygamy *. Diodorus Siculus says, that polygamy was permitted in Egypt, except to priests †. This probably was the case originally; but when the Egyptian manners came to be polished, a man gave a dowry with his daughter, instead of receiving a price for her; witness Solomon, who got the city of Gazer in dowry with the King of Egypt's daughter. When that custom became universal, we may be certain that it put an end to polygamy. And accordingly Herodotus affirms, that polygamy was prohibited in Egypt ‡.

Polygamy

* Leviticus, xviii. 18. † Lib. 1. ‡ Lib. 2. § 92.

Polygamy undoubtedly prevailed in Greece and Rome, while it was cuſtomary to purchaſe wives; but improved manners put an end to the latter, and conſequently to the former. Polygamy, to this day, obtains in the cold country of Kamſkatka, and in the ſtill colder country round Hudſon's Bay. In the land of Jeſſo, near Japan, a man may have two wives, who perform every ſort of domeſtic drudgery. The Negroes, in general, purchaſe their wives, and indulge in polygamy: and this is alſo law in Monomotapa. Polygamy, and the purchaſing wives, were cuſtomary among the original inhabitants of the Canary Iſlands, and among the people of Chili.

The low condition of women among barbarians, introduced the purchaſing them for wives, and conſequently polygamy. The juſt reſpect paid to them among civilized nations, reſtored the law of nature, and confined a man to one wife. Their equality as to rank and dignity, bars the man from taking another wife, as it bars the woman from taking another huſband. We find traces in ancient hiſtory of polygamy wearing out gradually. It wore out in Greece as manners refined; but ſuch was the influence of long habit, that though a man was confined to one wife, he was indulged in concubines without limitation. In Germany, when Tacitus wrote, very few traces remained of polygamy. "Severa illic matrimonia,

"nec

" nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris: " nam propè ſoli barbarorum ſingulis uxoribus " contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui " non libidine, ſed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nup- " tiis ambiuntur *." As polygamy was in that country little practiſed, we may be certain the purchaſing wives did not remain in vigour. And Tacitus accordingly, mentioning the general rule, " dotem non uxor marito, ſed uxori maritus of- " fert †," explains it away by obſerving, that the only *dos* given by the bridegroom were marriage-preſents, and that he at the ſame time received marriage-preſents on the bride's part ‡. The equality of the matrimonial engagement for the mutual benefit of huſband and wife, was well underſtood among the Gauls. Cæſar ſays, " Viri " quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine ac- " ceperunt, tantas ex ſuis bonis, æſtimatione factâ, " cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pe- " cuniæ conjunctim ratio habetur, fructusque ſer- " vantur. Uter eorum vita ſuperarit, ad eum pars " utriuſque cum fructibus ſuperiorum temporum " pervenit."

* " Marriage is there rigidly reſpected; nor is there any " part of their morality more laudable: for they are almoſt " the only race of barbarians who are contented with a ſingle " wife; a very few excepted, who, not from incontinency, but " from an ambition of nobility, take more wives than one."

† " The huſband gives a dowry to the wife, but the wife " brings none to the huſband."

‡ De moribus Germanorum, cap. 18.

" pervenit *." In Japan, and in Nicaragua, a man can have but one wife; but he may have many concubines. In Siam, polygamy is ſtill permitted, though the bride brings a dowry with her: but that abſurdity is corrected by refined manners; it being held improper, and even diſgraceful, to have more than one wife. The purchaſing wives wore out of faſhion among the ancient Tuſcans; for it was held infamous, that marriage ſhould be the reſult of any motive but mutual love. This at the ſame time put an end to polygamy. Polygamy was probably early eradicated among the ancient Perſians; for the bride's dowry was ſettled in marriage-articles, as among us. And there is the ſame reaſon for preſuming, that it was not long permitted in Mexico; marriage there being ſolemnized by the prieſt, and the bride's dower ſpecified, which was reſtored in caſe of ſeparation. In the countries where the Chriſtian religion was firſt propagated, women were faſt advancing to an equality with the men, and polygamy was wearing out of faſhion. The pure ſpirit of the Goſpel haſtened its extinction; and, though not prohibited expreſsly, it was however

* " Whatever ſum the huſband has received as his wife's " portion, he joins as much of his own effects. An account " is kept of this joint ſtock, and the fruits of it are preſerved. " Upon the death of either, the ſurviving ſpouſe has the pro- " perty of both ſhares, with the fruits or profits."—Lib. 6. cap. 19. De bello Gallico.

ever held, that Chriſtianity is a religion too pure for polygamy.

But, as hinted above, it was by ſlow degrees that the female ſex emerged out of ſlavery, to poſſeſs the elevated ſtation they are entitled to by nature. The practice of expoſing infants among the Greeks and many other nations, is an invincible proof of their depreſſion, even after the cuſtom ceaſed of purchaſing them. It is wiſely ordered by Providence, that the affection of a woman to her children commences with their birth; becauſe, during infancy, all depends on her care. As during that period, the father is of little uſe to his child, his affection is but ſlight, till the child begin to prattle and ſhew ſome fondneſs for him, The expoſing an infant therefore ſhews, that the mother was little regarded: if ſhe had been allowed a vote, the practice never would have obtained in any country. In the firſt book of the Iliad, Achilles ſays to Agamemnon, who threatened to force from him his miſtreſs Briſeis, "Another thing I will tell thee: record it in thy "ſoul. For a woman theſe hands ſhall never "fight, with thee nor with thy foes. Come, ſeize "Briſeis: ye Argives, take the prize ye gave. "But beware of other ſpoil, which lies ſtowed in "my ſhips on the ſhore. I will not be plundered "farther. If other be thy thoughts, Atrides, "come in arms, a trial make: theſe very ſlaves of "thine ſhall behold thy blood pouring around

"my

" my ſpear *." The comedies of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, are loſt; but manners muſt have been little poliſhed in their time, as far as can be conjectured from their tranſlators or imitators, Plautus and Terence. Married women in their comedies are ſometimes introduced and treated with very little reſpect. A man commonly vents his wrath on his wife, and ſcolds her as the cauſe of the miſconduct of their children. A lady, perhaps too inquiſitive about her huſband's amours, is addreſſed by him in the following words:

" Ni mala, ni ſtulta ſis, ni indomita imposque animi,
" Quod viro eſſe odio videas, tutè tibi odia habeas.

" Præter

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* Pope diſguiſes that ſentiment as follows:

" Seize on Briſeis, whom the Grecians doom'd
" My prize of war, yet tamely ſee reſumed;
" And ſeize ſecure; no more Achilles draws
" His conqu'ring ſword in any woman's cauſe.
" The gods command me to forgive the paſt;
" But let this firſt invaſion be the laſt:
" For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'ſt invade,
" Shall ſtream in vengeance on my reeking blade."

Such contempt of the female ſex as expreſſed by Achilles was perhaps thought too groſs for a modern ear. But did not Pope diſcover, that one capital beauty in Homer, is the delineation of ancient manners? At that rate, had it fallen to his ſhare to deſcribe Julius Cæſar, he would have dreſſed him like a modern beau. And why not? for in a genteel aſſembly, what a ſavage would he appear, without breeches, and without linen!

" Præter hac ſi mihi tale poſt hunc diem
" Faxis, faxo foris vidua viſas patrem *."

So little formerly were women regarded in England, that the benefit of clergy was not extended to them, till the days of William and Mary, when an act of parliament was made, beſtowing that privilege on them.

One will not be ſurpriſed that women in Greece were treated with no great reſpect by their huſbands. A woman cannot have much attraction who paſſes all her time in ſolitude: to be admired, ſhe muſt receive the poliſh of ſociety. At the ſame time, men of faſhion were ſo much improved in manners, as to reliſh ſociety with agreeable women, where ſuch could be found. And hence the figure that courtezans made at that period, eſpecially in Athens. They ſtudied the temper and taſte of the men, and endeavoured to gain their affection, by every winning art. The daily converſations they liſtened to, on philoſophy, politics, poetry, enlightened their underſtanding, and improved their taſte. Their houſes became agreeable ſchools, where every one might be inſtructed in his own

* " Would you be held a wife and virtuous ſpouſe,
" And of diſcretion due, obſerve this counſel:
" Whatever I, your lord, blame or approve,
" Still let your praiſe or cenſure be the ſame.
" But harkee,—be this reprimand the laſt:
" If you again offend, no more a wife
" Within theſe walls;—your father has you back."

own art. Socrates and Pericles met frequently at the houſe of Aſpaſia: from her they acquired delicacy of taſte, and, in return, procured to her public reſpect and reputation. Greece at that time was governed by orators, over whom ſome celebrated courtezans had great influence; and by that means entered deep into the government. It was ſaid of the famous Demoſthenes, "The meaſure "he hath meditated on for a year, will be over-"turned in a day by a woman." It appears accordingly from Plautus and Terence, that Athenian courtezans lived in great ſplendor. See in particular Heautontimoroumenos, Act 3. Scene 2.

I proceed to the other cauſe of polygamy, viz. opulence in a hot climate. Men there have a burning appetite for animal enjoyment; and women become old, and loſe the prolific quality, at an age which carries them little beyond the prime of life in a temperate climate. Theſe circumſtances diſpoſe men of opulence to purchaſe their wives, that they may not be confined to one; and purchaſe they muſt; for no man, without a valuable conſideration, will ſurrender his daughter, to be one of many who are deſtined to gratify the carnal appetite of a ſingle man. The numerous wives and concubines in Aſiatic harems, are all of them purchaſed with money. In the hot climate of Hindoſtan polygamy is univerſal, and men buy their wives. The ſame obtains in China: After the price is adjuſted and paid, the bride is conducted

to the bridegroom's houſe, locked in a ſedan, and the key delivered to him: If he be not ſatisfied with his bargain, he ſends her back, at the expence of loſing the ſum he paid for her: If ſatisfied, he feaſts his male friends in one room, and ſhe her female friends in another. A man who has little ſubſtance takes a wife for his ſon from an hoſpital, which ſaves him a dowry.

It has been pleaded for polygamy in warm climates, that women are fit for being married at or before the age of ten; that they are paſt child-bearing at twenty-five, while men are yet in the prime of life; and therefore that a ſecond wife ought to be permitted who can bear children. Are women then created for no other purpoſe but procreation merely, to be laid aſide as uſeleſs animals when they ceaſe to bear children? In the hotteſt climates, a woman may be the mother of ten or twelve children; and are not both parents uſefully employed, in rearing ſuch a number, and fitting them to do for themſelves? After this important taſk is performed, is not the woman well entitled, for the remainder of life, to enjoy the conjugal ſociety of a man, to whom ſhe dedicated the flower of her youth? But, even attending to the male ſex only, without paying any regard to the other ſex, it ought to be conſidered, that a man, by taking a ſecond wife, prevents ſome other man from having any. The argument for polygamy would indeed be concluſive, were ten females born for

one

one male, as is erroneouſly ſaid to be the caſe in Bantam: But, as an equality of males and females is the invariable rule of Nature, the argument has no force. All men are born equal by Nature; and to permit polygamy in any degree, is to authoriſe ſome to uſurp the privilege of others.

Thus, in hot climates, women remain in the ſame humble and dependent ſtate, in which all women were originally, when all men were ſavages. As polygamy is a forced ſtate, contradictory to nature, locks and bars are the only ſure means for reſtraining a number of women confined to one huſband. When the King of Perſia, with his wives, removes from Iſpachan to any of his villas, the hour of his departure, and the ſtreet through which he is to paſs, are proclaimed three days before, in order that every man may keep out of the way. Women, by the law of Hindoſtan, are not admitted to be witneſſes, even in a civil cauſe; and I bluſh to acknowledge, that, in Scotland, the ſame law has not been long in diſuſe.

In contradiction to the climate, Chriſtianity has baniſhed polygamy from Ethiopia, though the judges are far from being ſevere upon that crime. The heat of the climate makes them wiſh to indulge in a plurality of wives, even at the expence of purchaſing each of them. Among the Chriſtians of Congo, polygamy is in uſe, as formerly when they were Pagans. To be confined to one wife during life, is held by the moſt zealous Chri-

ſtians there, to be altogether irrational: Rather than be ſo confined, they would renounce Chriſtianity.

Beſide polygamy, many other cuſtoms depend on the nature of the matrimonial engagement, and vary according to its different kinds. Marriage-ceremonies, for that reaſon, vary in different countries, and at different times. Where the practice is to purchaſe a wife, whether among ſavages or among pampered people in hot climates, payment of the price completes the marriage without any other ceremony. Other ceremonies, however, are ſometimes practiſed. In old Rome, the bride was attended to the bridegroom's houſe with a female ſlave carrying a diſtaff and a ſpindle, importing that ſhe ought to ſpin for the family. Among the ſavages of Canada, and of the neighbouring countries, a ſtrap, a kettle, and a faggot, are put in the bride's cabin, as ſymbols of her duty, viz. to carry burdens, to dreſs victuals, and to provide wood. On the other hand, the bride, in token of her ſlavery, takes her axe, cuts wood, bundles it up, and lays it before the door of the bridegroom's hut. All the ſalutation ſhe receives is, "It is time "to go to reſt." The inhabitants of Sierra Leona, a negro country, have in all their towns a boarding-ſchool, where young ladies are educated for a year, under the care of a venerable old gentleman. When their education is completed, they are carried in their beſt attire to a public aſſembly; which

may

may be termed a matrimonial market, becauſe there young men convene to make a choice. Thoſe who fit themſelves to their fancy, pay the dowry; and, over and above, gratify the old ſuperintendant for his extraordinary care in educating the bride. In the iſland of Java, the bride, in token of ſubjection, waſhes the bridegroom's feet; and this is a capital ceremony. In Ruſſia, the bride preſents to the bridegroom a bundle of rods, to be uſed againſt her when ſhe deſerves to be chaſtiſed; and at the ſame time ſhe pulls off his boots. The preſent Empreſs, intent upon reforming the rude manners of her ſubjects, has diſcountenanced that ceremony among people of faſhion. Very different were the manners of Peru, before the Spaniſh conqueſt. The bridegroom carried ſhoes to the bride, and put them on with his own hands. But there, purchaſing of wives was unknown. Marriage-ceremonies in Lapland are directed by the ſame principle. It is the cuſtom there for a man to make preſents to his children of rain-deer; and young women, ſuch as have a large ſtock of theſe animals, have lovers in plenty. A young man looks for ſuch a wife, at a fair, or at a meeting for paying taxes. He carries to the houſe of the young woman's parents, ſome of his relations; being ſolicitous in particular to have an eloquent ſpeaker. They are all admitted except the lover, who muſt wait till he be called in. After drinking ſome ſpirits, brought along for the purpoſe,

the ſpokeſman addreſſes the father in humble terms, bowing the knee, as if he were introduced to a prince. He ſtyles him, the worſhipful father, the high and mighty father, the beſt and moſt illuſtrious father, &c. &c.

In viewing the chain of cauſes and effects, inſtances ſometimes occur of bizarre facts, ſtarting from the chain without any cauſe that can be diſcovered. The marriage-ceremonies among the Hottentots are of that nature. After all matters are adjuſted among the old people, the young couple are ſhut up by themſelves; and paſs the night in ſtruggling for ſuperiority, which proves a very ſerious work where the bride is reluctant. If ſhe perſevere to the laſt without yielding, the young man is diſcarded; but, if he prevail, which commonly happens, the marriage is completed by another ceremony, no leſs ſingular. The men and women ſquat on the ground in different circles, the bridegroom in the centre of one, and the bride in the centre of another. The Suri, or maſter of religious ceremonies, piſſes on the bridegroom; who receives the ſtream with eagerneſs, and rubs it into the furrows of the fat with which he is covered. He performs the ſame ceremony on the bride, who is equally reſpectful. The ceremonies of marriage among the preſent Greeks are no leſs bizarre. Among other particulars, the bridegroom and bride walk three rounds; during which they are kicked and cuffed heartily. Our author Tournefort

nefort adds, that he only and his companions forbore to join in the ceremony; which was aſcribed to their ruſticity and ignorance of polite manners. Marriage-ceremonies among the Kamſkatkans are extremely whimſical. A young man, after making his propoſals, enters into the ſervice of his intended father-in-law. If he prove agreeable, he is admitted to the trial of the *touch*. The young woman is ſwaddled up in leathern thongs; and in that condition is put under the guard of ſome old women. Watching every opportunity of a ſlack guard, he endeavours to uncaſe her, in order to touch what is always the moſt concealed. The bride muſt reſiſt, in appearance at leaſt; and therefore cries out for her guards; who fall with fury on the bridegroom, tear his hair, ſcratch his face, and act in violent oppoſition. The attempts of the lover prove ſometimes unſucceſsful for months; but the moment the *touch* is atchieved, the bride teſtifies her ſatisfaction, by pronouncing the words *Ni, Ni*, with a ſoft and loving voice. The next night they bed together without any oppoſition. One marriage-ceremony among the inland Negroes, is ſingular. As ſoon as preliminaries are adjuſted, the bridegroom, with a number of his companions, ſet out at night, and ſurround the houſe of the bride, as if intending to carry her off by force. She and her female attendants, pretending to make all poſſible reſiſtance, cry aloud for help, but no perſon appears. This

resembles strongly a marriage-ceremony that is or was customary in Wales. On the morning of the wedding-day, the bridegroom, accompanied with his friends on horseback, demands the bride. Her friends, who are likewise on horseback, give a positive refusal, upon which a mock scuffle ensues. The bride, mounted behind her nearest kinsman, is carried off, and is pursued by the bridegroom and his friends, with loud shouts. It is not uncommon on such an occasion to see two or three hundred sturdy Cambro-Britains riding at full speed, crossing and jostling, to the no small amusement of the spectators. When they have fatigued themselves and their horses, the bridegroom is suffered to overtake his bride. He leads her away in triumph, and the scene is concluded with feasting and festivity. The same marriage-ceremony was usual in Muscovy, Lithuania, and Livonia, as reported by Olaus Magnus *.

Divorce also depends on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where the law is, that a man must purchase his wife as one does a slave, it follows naturally, that he may purchase as many as he can pay for, and that he may turn them off at his pleasure. This law is universal, without a single exception. The Jews, who purchased their wives, were privileged to divorce them, without being obliged to assign a cause †. The Negroes purchase

* Lib. 14. cap. 9.

† Deuteronomy, chap. 24.

purchaſe their wives, and turn them off when they think proper. The ſame law obtains in China, in Monomotapa, in the iſthmus of Darien, in Caribeana, and even in the cold country round Hudſon's Bay. All the ſavages of South America who live near the Oroonoko, purchaſe as many wives as they can maintain; and divorce them without ceremony.

Very different is a matrimonial engagement between equals, where a dowry is contracted with the bride. The nature of the engagement implies, that neither of them ſhould diſmiſs the other, without a juſt cauſe. In Mexico, where the bride brought a dowry, there could be no divorce but by mutual conſent. In Lapland, the women who have a ſtock of rain-deer, as above mentioned, make a conſiderable figure. This lays a foundation for a matrimonial covenant as among us, which bars polygamy, and conſequently divorce, without a juſt cauſe. And, when theſe are barred in ſeveral inſtances, the prohibition in time becomes general.

I proceed to adultery, the criminality of which depends alſo in ſome meaſure on the nature of the matrimonial engagement. Where wives are purchaſed, and polygamy is indulged, adultery can ſcarce be reckoned a crime in the huſband; and, where there are a plurality of wives, ſound ſenſe makes it but a venial crime in any of them. But, as men are the lawgivers, the puniſhment of female adultery, where polygamy takes place, is generally

too

too ſevere. It is, however, more or leſs ſevere in different countries, in proportion as the men are more or leſs prone to revenge. The Chineſe are a mild people, and depend more on locks and bars for preventing adultery, than on ſeverity; the puniſhment being only to ſell an adultereſs for a ſlave. The ſame law obtains in the kingdom of Laos, bordering upon China. An adultereſs among the ancient Egyptians was puniſhed with the loſs of her noſe. In ancient Greece, a pecuniary penalty was inflicted on an adulterer*. An adultereſs was probably puniſhed more ſeverely. Among the Negroes, who have very little delicacy, adultery is but ſlightly puniſhed; except in the kingdom of Benin. There, an adultereſs, after a ſevere whipping, is baniſhed; and the adulterer forfeits his goods, which are beſtowed on the injured huſband. Among the ancient Germans, a grave and virtuous people, adultery was rare. An adultereſs was deprived of her hair, expelled from her huſband's houſe, and whipped through the village†. In Japan, where the people are remarkably fierce, female adultery is always puniſhed with death. In Tonquin, a woman guilty of adultery is thrown to an elephant to be deſtroyed. By the law of Moſes, an adultereſs is puniſhed with death, as alſo the adulterer‡. Margaret of Burgundy, Queen to

* Odyſſey, b. 8. l. 384.

† Tacitus, De moribus Germanorum, cap. 19.

‡ Leviticus, xx. 10.

to Lewis Hutin King of France, was hanged for adultery; and her lovers were fleaed alive. Such were the ſavage manners of thoſe times. There is an old law in Wales, that, for defiling the Prince's bed, the offender muſt pay a rod of pure gold, of the thickneſs of the finger of a ploughman who has ploughed nine years, and in length from the ground to the Prince's mouth when ſitting.

Matrimony between a ſingle pair, for mutual comfort, and for procreating children, implies the ſtricteſt mutual fidelity. Adultery, however, is a deeper crime in the wife than in the huſband: in him it may happen occaſionally, with little or no alienation of affection; but the ſuperior modeſty of the female ſex is ſuch, that a wife does not yield, till unlawful love prevails, not only over modeſty, but over duty to her huſband. Adultery, therefore, in the wife, is a breach of the matrimonial engagement in a double reſpect: it is an alienation of affection from the huſband, which unqualifies her to be his friend and companion; and it tends to bring a ſpurious iſſue into the family, betraying the huſband to maintain and educate children who are not his own.

The gradual advance of the female ſex to an equality with the male ſex, is viſible in the laws of female ſucceſſion that have been eſtabliſhed at different times, and in different countries. It is not probable that, in any country, women were early admitted to inherit land: they are too much de-

ſpiſed

ſpiſed among ſavages, for ſo valuable a privilege. The fierceneſs and brutality of the ancient Romans in particular unqualified the women to be their companions: it never entered their thoughts that women ſhould inherit land, which they cannot defend by the ſword. But women came to be regarded in proportion as the national manners refined. The law prohibiting female ſucceſſion in land, eſtabliſhed in days of ruſticity, was held to be rigorous and unjuſt when the Romans were more poliſhed. Proprietors of land, ſuch of them as had no ſons, were diſpoſed to evade the law, by ample proviſions to their daughters, which rendered the land of little value to the collateral heir-male. To reform that abuſe, as termed by thoſe who adhered to ancient cuſtoms, the *lex Voconia* was made, confining ſuch proviſions within moderate bounds: and this regulation continued in force, till regard for the female ſex broke through every legal reſtraint, and eſtabliſhed female ſucceſſion in land, as formerly in moveables *. The barbarous nations

* Juſtinian, or more properly the lawyers employed by him upon that abſurd compilation the Pandects, is guilty of a groſs error, in teaching, that, by the Twelve Tables, males and females of the ſame degree ſucceeded equally to land. The *lex Voconia* (explained in *Alexandri ab Alexandro geniales dies*, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 15.) vouches the contrary. And one cannot ſee, without pain, Juſtinian's error, not only adopted by an illuſtrious modern, but a cauſe aſſigned for it ſo refined and ſubtile, as to go quite out of ſight, *L'Eſprit de Loix*, *liv.* 27. *chap.* 1. I venture to

tions who crushed the Roman power, were not late in adopting the mild manners of the conquered: they admitted women to inherit land, and they exacted a double composition for injuries done to them. By the Salic law among the Franks, women were expresly prohibited to inherit land: but we learn from the forms of Marculfus, that this prohibition was in time eluded by the following solemnity. The man who wanted to put his daughter upon a footing with his sons, carried her before the commissary, saying, "My dear child, "an ancient and impious custom bars a young "woman from succeeding to her father: but, as "all my children are equally given me by God, I "ought to love them equally; therefore, my dear "child, my will is, that my effects shall divide "equally between you and your brethren." In polished states, women are not excluded from succeeding even to the crown. Russia and Britain afford examples of women capable to govern, in an absolute as well as in a limited monarchy*.

What

to affirm, that subtile reasoning never had any influence upon a rough and illiterate people; and therefore, at the time of the Decemvirs, who composed the Twelve Tables of law, the subtile cause assigned by our author could not have been the motive, had the Decemvirs introduced female succession in land, which they certainly did not.

* The kingdom of Gurrah, in Hindostan, was governed by Queen Dargouttè, eminent for spirit and beauty. Small as that

What I have ſaid regards thoſe nations only where polygamy is prohibited. I take it for granted, that women are not admitted to inherit land where polygamy is lawful: they are not in ſuch eſtimation as to be entitled to a privilege ſo illuſtrious.

Among the Hurons in North America, where the regal dignity is hereditary, and great regard paid to the royal family, the ſucceſſion is continued through females, in order to preſerve the royal blood untainted. When the chief dies, his ſon ſucceeds not, but his ſiſter's ſon; who certainly is of the royal blood, whoever be the father: and, when the royal family is at an end, a chief is elected by the nobleſt matron of the tribe. The ſame

that kingdom is, it contained about 70,000 towns and villages, the effect of long peace and proſperity. Being invaded by Aſaph Can, not many years ago, the Queen, mounted on an elephant, led her troops to battle. Her ſon, Rajan Bier Shaw, being wounded in the heat of action, was by her orders carried from the field. That accident having occaſioned a general panic, the Queen was left with but 300 horſemen. Adhar, who conducted her elephant, exhorted her to retire while it could be done with ſafety. The heroine rejected the advice. "It is true," ſaid ſhe, "we are overcome in battle; but not "in honour. Shall I, for a lingering ignominious life, loſe a "reputation that has been my chief ſtudy! Let your gratitude repay now the obligations you owe me: pull out your "dagger, and ſave me from ſlavery, by putting an end to "my life." The kingdom of Agonna in Guinea was governed by a Queen when Boſman wrote.

ſame rule of ſucceſſion obtains among the Natches, a people bordering on the Miſiſſippi; it being an article in their creed, That their royal family are children of the ſun. On the ſame belief was founded a law in Peru, appointing the heir of the crown to marry his ſiſter; which, equally with the law mentioned, preſerved the blood of the ſun in the royal family, and did not incroach ſo much upon the natural order of ſucceſſion.

Female ſucceſſion depends in ſome degree on the nature of the government. In Holland, all the children, male and female, ſucceed equally. The Hollanders live by commerce, which women are capable of as well as men. Land at the ſame time is ſo ſcanty in that country, as to render it impracticable to raiſe a family by engroſſing a great eſtate in land; and there is nothing but the ambition of raiſing a family, that can move a man to prefer one of his children before the reſt. The ſame law obtains in Hamburgh, for the ſame reaſons. Extenſive eſtates in land ſupport great families in Britain, a circumſtance unfavourable to younger children. But probably in London, and in other great trading towns, mercantile men provide againſt the law, by making a more equal diſtribution of their effects among their children.

After traverſing a great part of the globe with painful induſtry, would not one be apt to conclude, that originally females were every where deſpiſed, as they are at preſent among the ſavages

of America; that wives, like ſlaves, were procured by barter; that polygamy was univerſal; and that divorce depended on the whim of the huſband? but no ſort of reaſoning is more fallible, than the drawing general concluſions from particular facts. The northern nations of Europe, as appears from the foregoing ſketch, muſt be excepted from theſe concluſions. Among them, women were from the beginning courted and honoured, nor was polygamy ever known among them.

We proceed now to a capital article in the progreſs of the female ſex; which is, to trace the different degrees of reſtraint impoſed upon married women in different countries, and at different times in the ſame country; and to aſſign the cauſes of theſe differences. Where luxury is unknown, and where people have no wants but what are ſuggeſted by uncorrupted nature; men and women live together with great freedom, and with great innocence. In Greece anciently, even young women of rank miniſtered to men in bathing.

> " While theſe officious tend the rites divine,
> " The laſt fair branch of the Neſtorian line,
> " Sweet Polycaſté, took the pleaſant toil
> " To bathe the Prince, and pour the fragrant oil *."

Men and women among the Spartans bathed promiſcuouſly, and wreſtled together ſtark naked. Tacitus

* Odyſſey, b. 3. See alſo b. 8. l. 491.

Tacitus reports, that the Germans had not even ſeparate beds, but lay promiſcuouſly upon reeds or heath along the walls of the houſe. The ſame cuſtom prevails even at preſent among the temperate Highlanders of Scotland; and is not quite worn out in New England. A married woman is under no confinement, becauſe no man thinks of an act ſo irregular as to attempt her chaſtity. In the Caribbee iſlands, adultery was unknown, tell European Chriſtians made ſettlements there. At the ſame time, there ſcarce can be any fuel for jealouſy, where men purchaſe their wives, put them away at pleaſure, and even lend them to a friend. But when, by ripening ſenſibility, a man feels pleaſure in his wife's attachment to him, jealouſy commences; jealouſy of a rival in her affections. Jealouſy accordingly is a ſymptom of increaſing eſteem for the female ſex; and that paſſion is viſibly creeping in among the natives of Virginia. It begins to have a real foundation, when inequality of rank and of riches takes place. Men of opulence ſtudy pleaſure: married women become objects of a corrupted taſte; and often fall a ſacrifice, where morals are imperfect, and the climate an incentive to animal love. Greece is a delicious country, the people handſome; and when the ancient Greeks made the greateſt figure, they were miſerably defective in morals. They became jealous of rivals; which prompted them, according to the rough manners of thoſe times, to

exclude women from ſociety with men. Their women accordingly were never ſeen in public; and, if my memory ſerve me, an accidental interview of a man and a woman on the public ſtreet brings on the cataſtrophé in a Greek tragedy. In Hecuba, a tragedy of Euripides, the Queen excuſes herſelf for declining to viſit Polymeſtor, ſaying, "that it is indecent for a woman to look a man "in the face." In the Electra of Sophocles, Antigoné is permitted by her mother Jocaſta to take a view of the Argian army from a high tower: an old man who accompanies her, being alarmed at ſeeing ſome females paſs that way, and afraid of cenſure, prays Antigoné to retire; "for," ſays he, "women are prone to detraction; and to "them the mereſt trifle is a fruitful ſubject of "converſation*." Spain is a country that ſcarce yields to Greece in fineneſs of climate; and the morals of its people in the dark ages of Chriſtianity, were not more pure than thoſe of Greece. By a law of the Viſigoths in Spain, a ſurgeon was prohibited to take blood from a free woman, except in preſence of her huſband, or neareſt relations. By

* Women are not prone to detraction, unleſs when denied the comforts of ſociety. The cenſure of Sophocles is probably juſt with reſpect to his countrywomen, becauſe they were locked up. Old maids have the character with us of being prone to detraction; but that holds not, unleſs they retire from ſociety.

By the Salic law *, he who ſqueezes the hand of a free woman ſhall pay a fine of fifteen golden ſhillings. In the fourteenth century, it was a rule in France, that no married woman ought to admit a man to viſit her in abſence of her huſband. Female chaſtity muſt at that time have been extremely feeble, when ſo little truſt was repoſed in the fair ſex.

To treat women in that manner, may poſſibly be neceſſary, where they are in requeſt for no end but to gratify animal love. But, where they are intended for the more elevated purpoſes of being friends and companions, as well as affectionate mothers, a very different treatment is proper. Locks and ſpies will never anſwer; for theſe tend to debaſe their minds, to corrupt their morals, and to render them contemptible. By gradual openings in the more delicate ſenſes, particularly in all the branches of the moral ſenſe, chaſtity, one of theſe branches, acquires a commanding influence over females; and becomes their ruling principle. In that refined ſtate, women are truſted with their own conduct, and may ſafely be truſted: they make delicious companions, and uncorruptible friends; and that ſuch at preſent is generally their caſe in Britain, I am bold to affirm. Anne of Britanny, wife to Charles VIII. and to Lewis XII. Kings of France, introduced the faſhion of ladies appearing publicly at court. This faſhion was in-

 troduced

* Tit. 22.

troduced much later in England: even down to the Revolution, women of rank never appeared in the ſtreets without a maſk. In Scotland, the veil, or plaid, continued long in faſhion, with which every woman of rank was covered when ſhe went abroad. That faſhion has not been laid aſide above forty years. In Italy, women were much longer confined than in France; and in Spain, the indulging them with ſome liberty is but creeping into faſhion. In Abyſſinia, polygamy is prohibited; and married women of faſhion have by cuſtom obtained the privilege of viſiting their friends, though not much with the good-will of many huſbands.

It were to be wiſhed, that a veil could be drawn over the following part of their hiſtory. The growth of luxury and ſenſuality, undermining every moral principle, renders both ſexes equally diſſolute: wives in that caſe deſerve to be again locked up; but the time of ſuch ſeverity is paſt. In that caſe, indeed, it becomes indecent for the two ſexes to bathe promiſcuouſly. Men in Rome, copying the Greeks, plunged together in the ſame bath; and in time men and women did the ſame *. Hadrian prohibited that indecent cuſtom. Marcus Antoninus renewed the prohibition; and Alexander Severus, a ſecond time: but to ſo little purpoſe, that even the primitive Chriſtians made no difficulty

* Plutarch, Life of Cato.

difficulty to follow the cuſtom: ſuch appetite there is for being *nudus cum nuda*, when juſtified by faſhion. This cuſtom withſtood even the thunder of general councils; and was not dropt till people became more decent.

In days of innocence, when chaſtity is the ruling paſſion of the female ſex, we find great franknefs in external behaviour; for women above ſuſpicion are little ſolicitous about appearances. At the ſame period, and for the ſame reaſon, we find great looſenefs in writing; witnefs the Queen of Navarre's tales. In the capital of France, at preſent, chaſtity, far from being practiſed, is ſcarce admitted to be a female virtue. But people who take much freedom in private, are extremely circumſpect in public: no indecent expreſſion nor inſinuation is admitted, even into their plays or other writings. In England, the women are lefs corrupted than in France; and for that reaſon are not ſo ſcrupulous with reſpect to decency in writing.

Hitherto of the female ſex in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited. Very different is their condition in hot climes, which inflame animal love in both ſexes equally. In the hot regions of Aſia, where polygamy is indulged, and wives are purchaſed for gratifying the carnal appetite merely, it is vain to think of reſtraining them otherwiſe than by locks and bars, after having once taſted enjoyment. Where polygamy is indulged, the body is the only object of jealouſy,

not the mind, as there can be no mutual affection between a man and his inſtruments of ſenſual pleaſure. And, if women be ſo little virtuous as not to be ſafely truſted with their own conduct, they ought to be locked up; for there is no juſt medium between abſolute confinement and abſolute freedom. The Chineſe are ſo jealous of their wives, as even to lock them up from their relations; and, ſo great is their diffidence of the female ſex in general, that brothers and ſiſters are not permitted to converſe together. When women go abroad, they are ſhut up in a cloſe ſedan, into which no eye can penetrate. The intrigues carried on by the wives of the Chineſe Emperor, and the jealouſy that reigns among them, render them unhappy. But luckily, as women are little regarded where polygamy is indulged, their ambition and intrigues give leſs diſturbance to the government, than in the courts of European princes. The ladies of Hindoſtan cover their heads with a gauze veil, even at home, which they lay not aſide except in company of their neareſt relations. A Hindoo buys his wife; and the firſt time he is permitted to ſee her without a veil is after marriage, in his own houſe. In ſeveral hot countries, women are put under the guard of eunuchs, as an additional ſecurity; and black eunuchs are commonly preferred for their uglineſs. But, as a woman, deprived of the ſociety of men, is apt to be inflamed even with the *appearance* of a man, ſome jealous

jealous nations, refining upon that circumſtance, employ old maids, termed *duennas*, for guarding their women. In the city of Moka, in Arabia Felix, women of faſhion never appear on the ſtreets in day-light; but it is a proof of manners refined above thoſe in neighbouring countries, that they are permitted to viſit one another in the evening. If they find men in their way, they draw aſide to let them paſs. A French ſurgeon being called by one of the King of Yeman's chief officers, to cure a rheumatiſm which had ſeized two of his wives, was permitted to handle the parts affected, but could not get a ſight of their faces.

I proceed to examine more minutely the manners of women, as reſulting from the degree of reſtraint they are under in different countries. In the warm regions of Aſia, where polygamy is indulged, the education of young women is extremely looſe, being calculated for the ſole end of animal pleaſure. They are accompliſhed in ſuch graces and allurements as tend to inflame the ſenſual appetite: they are taught vocal and inſtrumental muſic, with various dances that cannot ſtand the teſt of decency: but no culture is beſtowed on the mind, no moral inſtruction, no improvement of the rational faculties; becauſe ſuch education, which qualifies them for being virtuous companions to men of ſenſe, would inſpire them with abhorrence at the being made proſtitutes. In a word, ſo corrupted are they by vicious educa-

tion, as to be unfit objects of any desire but what is merely sensual. The Asiatic ladies are not even trusted with the management of household affairs, which would afford opportunities for infidelity. In Persia, says Chardin, the ladies are not permitted, more than children, to choose their own dress: no lady, knows, in the morning, what gown she is to wear that day. The education of young women in Hindostan is less indecent. They are not taught music nor dancing, which are reckoned fit only for ladies of pleasure: they are taught all the graces of external behaviour; particularly, to converse with spirit and elegance: they are taught also to sew, to embroider, and to dress with taste. Writing is neglected; but they are taught to read, that they may have the consolation of studying the Alcoran, which they never open, nor would understand if they did. Notwithstanding such care in educating Hindostan ladies, their manners, by being shut up in a seraglio, become extremely loose: the most refined luxury of sense, joined with idleness, or reading love-tales, still worse than idleness, cannot fail to vitiate the minds of persons deprived of liberty, and to prepare them for every sort of intemperance. The wives and concubines of grandees in Constantinople are permitted sometimes to walk abroad for air and exercise. A foreigner stumbling accidentally on a knot of them, about forty in number, attended with black eunuchs, was in the twinkling of an eye seized by a brisk girl,

with

with the reſt at her heels: ſhe accoſted him with looſe amorous expreſſions, attempting at the ſame time to expoſe his nakedneſs. Neither threats nor intreaties availed him againſt ſuch vigorous aſſailants; nor could the vehemence of their curioſity be moderated, by repreſenting the ſhame of a behaviour ſo groſsly immodeſt. An old Janizary, ſtanding at a little diſtance, was amazed: his Mahometan baſhfulneſs would not ſuffer him to lay hands upon women; but, with a Stentorian voice, he roared to the black eunuchs, that they were guardians of proſtitutes, not of modeſt women; urging them to free the man from ſuch harpies:—All in vain *.

Very different are female manners in temperate climes, where polygamy is prohibited, and women are treated as rational beings. Theſe manners, however, depend in ſome meaſure on the nature of the government. As many hands are at once employed in the different branches of republican government, and a ſtill greater number by rotation; the males, who have little time to ſpare from public buſineſs, feel nothing of that languor and wearineſs, which to the idle make the moſt frivolous amuſements welcome. Married women live retired at home, managing family-affairs, as their huſbands do thoſe of the ſtate: whence it is, that ſimplicity of manners is more the tone of a republic, than of any other government. Such were the manners

* Obſervations on the religion, laws, &c. of the Turks.

manners of the female ſex during the flouriſhing periods of the Greek and Roman commonwealths; and ſuch are their manners in Switzerland and in Holland.

There will be occaſion afterward, to diſplay an important revolution in manners, reſulting from chivalry *. One branch of it muſt be handled at preſent, that which concerns the intercourſe between the ſexes. The Cruſades were what firſt gave a turn to the fierce manners of our anceſtors. The combatants, fighting more for glory than for revenge or intereſt, became eminent for magnanimity and heroiſm. After ſo active a life abroad, they could not bear idleneſs at home, eſpecially when there was ſuch a demand for their proweſs. Europe had never been worſe governed than at that period: diſſenſion and diſcord were univerſal; and every chieftain bore deadly feud againſt his neighbours. Revenge was the ruling paſſion, which was licentiouſly indulged, without the leaſt regard to juſtice. The heroes who had ſignalized themſelves abroad, endeavoured to acquire fame at home: they entered into bonds of chivalry, for redreſſing wrongs, and protecting widows and orphans. An object ſo noble and humane, tempered courage with mildneſs, and magnanimity with courteſy. The protection given to widows and orphans improved benevolence; and female beauty, which makes the deepeſt impreſſion on the benevolent, came to be the

* Boook 2. Sketch 6.

the capital object of protection. Each knight took under his peculiar care the beauty that inflamed him the most; and each knight was disposed to elevate the goddess of his heart above all rival beauties. In his heated imagination, she was perfection without frailty, a paragon of nature. Emulation for the fame of a beloved object has no bounds, because there is nothing selfish in it: she is exalted into a sort of divinity: the lover descends to be a humble votary. And mark, that devotion to a visible deity always flames the highest. This connection, which reverses the order of nature, by elevating women far above men, produced an artificial sort of gallantry, that was carried to extravagance: the language of devotion became that of love, and all was bombast and unnatural. Chastity, however, was a gainer by this mode of love: it became necessarily the ruling principle, to be preserved in purity without spot or blemish; possession dissolves the charm; for, after surrendering all to a lover, a female cannot hope to maintain her angelic character a moment. Duke John de Bourbonnois, *anno* 1414, caused it to be proclaimed, that he intended an expedition to England with sixteen knights, in order to combat the like number of English knights, for glorifying the beautiful angel he worshipped. Instances of this kind, without number, stand upon record. René, styled *King of Sicily and Jerusalem*, observes, in writing upon tournaments, that they are highly useful

uſeful in furniſhing opportunities to young knights and eſquires to diſplay their prowefs before their miſtreſſes. He adds, " that every ceremony re-
" garding tournaments is contrived to honour the
" ladies. It belongs to them to inſpect the arms
" of the combatants, and to diſtribute the re-
" wards. A knight or eſquire who defames any
" one of them, is beat and bruiſed till the injured
" lady condeſcend to intercede for him." Remove a female out of her proper ſphere, and it is eaſy to convert her into a male. James IV. of Scotland, in all tournaments, profeſſed himſelf knight to Anne Queen of France. She ſummoned him to prove himſelf her true and valorous champion, by taking the field in her defence againſt Henry VIII. of England. And, according to the romantic gallantry of that age, the Queen's ſummons was thought to have been James's chief motive for declaring war againſt his brother-in-law. The famous Gaſton de Foix, general of the French at the battle of Ravenna, rode from rank to rank, calling by name ſeveral officers, and even private men, recommending to them their country and their honour; adding, " that he would ſee what
" they would perform for love of their miſtreſſes." During the civil wars in France, when love and gallantry were carried to a high pitch, Monſieur de Chatillon, ready to engage in a battle, tied round his arm a garter of Mademoiſelle de Guerchi his miſtreſs. De Liques and d'Etrees were both

ſuitors

ſuitors to Mademoiſelle de Fouquerolles for marriage. De Liques prevailed, and the marriage-day was fixed. But that very day, he was taken priſoner by his rival in a battle *anno* 1525. The lady wrote a letter to d'Etrees, demanding her huſband; and d'Etrees inſtantly ſent him to her without even demanding a ranſom *.

In peaceable times, the ſovereign power having acquired more authority, the neceſſity of private protection ceaſed. But the accuſtomed ſpirit of gallantry did not ceaſe. It could not, however, ſubſiſt for ever againſt nature and common ſenſe: it ſubſided by degrees into mutual affability and politeneſs, ſuch as ought always to obtain between the ſexes. But obſerve, that, after a moſt intimate connection, matters could not fall back to the former decency and reſerve. The intimate connection remained; and a more ſubſtantial gallantry took place, not always innocent. This change of manners was firſt viſible in monarchy. Monarchy employs but a few hands; and thoſe who are not occupied in public affairs, find leiſure for gallantry and for deſires that are eaſily gratified.

* We are indebted to Brantom for what follows. In the time of Francis I. of France, a young woman, having a talkative lover, ordered him to be dumb. His obedience for two long years made all the world believe that he was ſunk in melancholy. One day, in a numerous aſſembly, the young woman, who was not known to be his miſtreſs, undertook to cure him, and did it with a ſingle word, *Speak*.

fied. Women of rank, on the other hand, laid open to corruption by opulence and ſuperficial education, are more ambitious to captivate the eye than the judgment; and are fonder of lovers than of friends. Where a man and a woman thus prepared meet together, they ſoon grow particular: the man is idle, the woman frank; and both equally addicted to pleaſure. Unlawful commerce between the ſexes becoming thus common, high gallantry vaniſhes of courſe: the bombaſt ſtyle appears ridiculous, and the ſenſual appetite is gratified with very little ceremony. Nothing of love remains but the name; and, as animal enjoyment without love is a very low pleaſure, it ſoon ſinks into diſguſt when confined to one object. What is not found in one, is fondly expected in another; and the imagination, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety. An attachment to a woman of virtue or of talents, appears abſurd: true love is laughed out of countenance; and men degenerate into brutes. Women, on the other hand, regarding nothing but ſenſual enjoyment, become ſo careleſs of their infants, as even, without bluſhing, to employ mercenary nurſes *. In

* "Les femmes d'un certain état en France trouvent qu'elles perdent trop à faire des enfans, et à cauſe de cela même, la plupart vivent celibataires, dans le ſein même du mariage. Mais ſi l'envie de ſe voir perpetuer dans une branche de deſcendans, les porte à ſe conformer aux vœux de l'hymen; la population,

In Perſia, it is a common practice among women of faſhion to uſe drugs that cauſe abortion; becauſe after pregnancy is advanced, the huſband attaches himſelf to other women, it being held indecent to touch a woman who is pregnant. Such a courſe of life cannot fail to ſink them into contempt: marriages are diſſolved as ſoon as contracted; and the ſtate is fruſtrated of that improvement in morals and manners, which is the never-failing product of virtuous love. A ſtate enriched by conqueſt or commerce, declines gradually into luxury and ſenſual pleaſure: manners are corrupted, decency baniſhed, and chaſtity becomes a mere name. What

population, dans cette claſſe, n'en eſt pas plus avancée, pars que leur delicateſſe rend inutile leur propagation; car, parmi les femmes du premier et ſecond rang en France, combien y en a t-il, qui nouriſſent leurs enfans? Il ſeroit facile de les compter. Ce devoir indiſpenſable de mere, a ceſſé chez nous d'en être un." *Les Intereſts de la France, vol.* 1. *p.* 234.—[*In Engliſh thus:* "The women of a certain rank in France find "that they loſe too much by child-bearing; and, for that "reaſon, even though married, live in a ſtate of celibacy. "But population is not advanced, even by thoſe who, from a "deſire of ſeeing themſelves perpetuated in their deſcendants, "conform to the purpoſe of marriage; for their delicacy "counterbalances their fertility. How few of the firſt and "ſecond rank of women in France ſuckle their children? "It would be eaſy to count the number. This indiſpenſable "duty of a mother has now ceaſed to be one with us."]—As ſuch woful neglect of education is the fruit of voluptuouſneſs, we may take it for granted, that the ſame obtains in every opulent and luxurious capital.

What a ſcene of rank and diſſolute pleaſure is exhibited in the courts of Alexander's ſucceſſors, and in thoſe of the Roman emperors!

Gratitude to my female readers, if I ſhall be honoured with any, prompts me to conclude this ſketch with a ſcene, that may afford them inſtruction, and cannot fail of being agreeable; which is, the figure a woman is fitted for making in the matrimonial ſtate, where polygamy is excluded. Matrimony among ſavages, having no object but propagation and ſlavery, is a very humbling ſtate for the female ſex: but delicate organization, great ſenſibility, lively imagination, with ſweetneſs of temper above all, qualify women for a more dignified ſociety with men; which is, to be their companions and boſom-friends. In the common courſe of European education, young women are trained to make an agreeable figure, and to behave with decency and propriety: very little culture is beſtowed on the head; and ſtill leſs on the heart, if it be not the art of hiding paſſion. Such education is far from ſeconding the purpoſe of nature, that of making women fit companions for men of ſenſe. Due cultivation of the female mind would add greatly to the happineſs of the males, and ſtill more to that of the females. Time runs on; and when youth and beauty vaniſh, a fine lady, who never entertained a thought into which an admirer did not enter, ſurrenders herſelf now to diſcontent and peeviſhneſs. A woman, on the contrary,

trary, who has merit, improved by virtuous and refined education, retains in her decline an influence over the men, more flattering than even that of beauty: ſhe is the delight of her friends, as formerly of her admirers.

Admirable would be the effects of ſuch refined education, contributing no leſs to public good than to private happineſs. A man, who at preſent muſt degrade himſelf into a fop or a coxcomb in order to pleaſe the women, would ſoon diſcover, that their favour is not to be gained but by exerting every manly talent in public and in private life; and the two ſexes, inſtead of corrupting each other, would be rivals in the race of virtue. Mutual eſteem would be to each a ſchool of urbanity; and mutual deſire of pleaſing, would give ſmoothneſs to their behaviour, delicacy to their ſentiments, and tenderneſs to their paſſions.

Married women in particular, deſtined by nature to take the lead in educating children, would no longer be the greateſt obſtruction to good education, by their ignorance, frivolity, and diſorderly manners. Even upon the breaſt, infants are ſuſceptible of impreſſions*; and the mother hath opportunities

* May not a habit of cheerfulneſs be produced in an infant, by being trained up among cheerful people? An agreeable temper is held to be a prime qualification in a nurſe. Such is the connection between the mind and body, as that the features of the face are commonly moulded into an expreſſion of

opportunities without end of inſtilling into them good principles, before they are fit for a male tutor. Coriolanus, who made a capital figure in the Roman republic, never returned from war without meriting marks of diſtinction. Others behaved valiantly, in order to acquire glory: he behaved valiantly, in order to give pleaſure to his mother. The delight ſhe took in hearing him praiſed, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, made him in his own opinion the happieſt perſon in the univerſe. Epaminondas accounted it his greateſt felicity, that his father and mother were ſtill alive to behold his conduct, and enjoy his victory at Leuctra. In a Latin dialogue about the cauſes that corrupted the Roman eloquence, injudiciouſly aſcribed to Tacitus, becauſe obviouſly it is not his ſtyle, the method of education in Rome, while it flouriſhed as a commonwealth, is deſcribed in a lively manner. I ſhall endeavour to give the ſenſe in Engliſh, becauſe it chiefly concerns the fair ſex. "In that age, chil-
"dren were ſuckled, not in the hut of a mercenary
"nurſe, but by the chaſte mother who bore them.
"Their education during nonage was in her hands;
"and

of the internal diſpoſition; and is it not natural to think, that an infant in the womb may be affected by the temper of its mother? Its tender parts make it ſuſceptible of the ſlighteſt impreſſions. When a woman is breeding, ſhe ought to be doubly careful of her temper; and, in particular, to indulge no ideas but what are cheerful, and no ſentiments but what are kindly.

" and it was her chief care to inſtil into them every " virtuous principle. In her preſence, a looſe " word or an improper action, were ſtrictly pro- " hibited. She ſuperintended, not only their ſe- " rious ſtudies, but even their amuſements; which " were conducted with decency and moderation. " In that manner the Gracchi, educated by Cor- " nelia their mother, and Auguſtus, by Attia his " mother, appeared in public with untainted " minds; fond of glory, and prepared to make a " figure in the world." In the expedition of the illuſtrious Bertrand du Gueſclin againſt Peter the Cruel, King of Caſtile, the governor of a town, ſummoned to give it up, made the following anſwer: " That they might be conquered, but would " never tamely yield; that their fathers had taught " them to prefer a glorious death before a diſho- " nourable life; and that their mothers had not " only educated them in theſe ſentiments, but were " ready to put in practice the leſſons they had in- " culcated." During the civil wars in France between the Catholics and Proteſtants, Bari, governor of Leucate, having fallen by ſurpriſe into the hands of the Catholics, wrote from priſon to his ſpouſe Conſtance Cezelli not to ſurrender even though they ſhould threaten to put him to death. The beſiegers brought him within her ſight; and threatened to maſſacre him if ſhe did not inſtantly open the gates. She offered for his ranſom her children and all ſhe had in the world—but that the town

belonged to the King, and was not at her diſpoſal. Would one think it poſſible, that any woman ever did exiſt ſo brutal as to put her huſband to death? Yet this was done in cold blood. Let the moſt profound politician ſay, what more efficacious incentive there can be to virtue and manhood, than the behaviour of the Spartan matrons, flocking to the temples, and thanking the gods that their huſbands and ſons had died glorioufly, fighting for their country. In the war between Lacedemon and Thebes, the Lacedemonians having behaved ill, the married men, as Plutarch reports, were ſo aſhamed of themſelves, that they durſt not look their wives in the face. What a glorious prize is here exhibited, to be contended for by the female ſex!

By ſuch refined education, love would take on a new form, that which nature inſpires, for making us happy, and for ſoftening the diſtreſſes of chance: it would fill delicioufly the whole ſoul with tender amity, and mutual confidence. The union of a worthy man with a frivolous woman, can never, with all the advantages of fortune, be made comfortable: how different the union of a virtuous pair, who have no aim but to make each other happy! Between ſuch a pair emulation is reverſed, by an ardent deſire in each to be ſurpaſſed by the other.

Rouſſeau, in his treatiſe of Education, affirms, that convents are no better than ſchools of coquetry;

ry; and that among Proteſtants, women make better wives and more tender mothers than among Roman Catholics; for which, ſays he, no reaſon can be given but convent-education, which is univerſal among the latter. He then goes on in the following words: "Pour aimer la vie paiſible et domeſtique il faut la connôitre; il faut en avoir "ſenti les douceurs dès l'enfance. Ce n'eſt que "dans la maiſon paternelle qu'on prend du goût "pour ſa propre maiſon, et toute femme que ſa "mere n'a point elevée n'aimera point elever ſes "enfans. Malheureuſement il n'y a plus d'edu-"cation priveé dans les grandes villes. La ſocieté "y eſt ſi generale et ſi melée qu'il ne reſte plus "d'aſile pour la retraite, et qu'on eſt en publique "juſques chez ſoi. A force de vivre avec tout le "monde en n'a plus de famille, à peine connoît-"on ſes parens; on les voit en etrangers, et la "ſimplicité des mœurs domeſtiques s'eteint avec "la douce familiarité qui en faiſoit le charme. "C'eſt ainſi qu'on ſuce avec le lait le gout des "plaiſirs du ſiecle et des maximes qu'on y voit "regner." *Rouſſeau, Emile.*

Cultivation of the female mind, is not of great importance in a republic, where men paſs little of their time with women. Such cultivation, where polygamy is indulged, would to them be a deep misfortune, by opening their eyes to their miſerable condition. But in an opulent monarchy, where polygamy is prohibited, female education is

of high importance; not ſingly with reſpect to private happineſs, but with reſpect to the ſociety in general.

APPENDIX.

CONCERNING PROPAGATION OF ANIMALS, AND CARE OF PROGENY.

THE natural hiſtory of animals, with reſpect to pairing and care of progeny, is ſuſceptible of more elucidation, than could regularly be introduced into the ſketch itſelf, where it makes but a ſingle argument. Loth to quit a ſubject that eminently diſplays the wiſdom and benevolence of Providence, I embrace the preſent opportunity, however ſlight, to add what further occurs upon it. M. Buffon, in many large volumes, beſtows ſcarce a thought on that favourite ſubject; and the neglect of our countrymen Ray and Derham is ſtill leſs excuſable, conſidering that to diſplay the conduct of Providence was their ſole purpoſe in writing natural hiſtory.

The inſtinct of pairing is beſtowed on every ſpecies of animals to which it is neceſſary for rearing their young; and on no other ſpecies. All wild birds pair: but with a remarkable difference between

tween ſuch as place their neſts on trees, and ſuch as place them on the ground. The young of the former, being hatched blind and without feathers, require the nurſing care of both parents till they be able to fly. The male feeds his mate on the neſt, and cheers her with a ſong. As ſoon as the young are hatched, ſinging yields to a more neceſſary occupation, that of providing food for a numerous iſſue, a taſk that requires both parents.

Eagles and other birds of prey build on trees, or on other places difficult of acceſs. They not only pair, but continue in pairs all the year; and the ſame pair procreate together, year after year. This at leaſt is the caſe of eagles: the male and female hunt together; and during incubation the female is fed by the male. A greater number than a ſingle pair never are ſeen in company.

Gregarious birds pair, in order probably to prevent diſcord, in a ſociety confined to a narrow ſpace. This is the caſe particularly of pigeons and rooks. The male and female ſit on the eggs alternately, and divide the care of feeding their young. During incubation, the male raven is always at hand to defend the female againſt birds of prey. No ſooner does a kite appear than he gets above it, and ſtrikes it down with his bill.

Partridges, plovers, pheaſants, ſea-fowl, grouſe, and other kinds that place their neſts on the ground, have the inſtinct of pairing; but differ from ſuch as build on trees in the following particular, that

after the female is impregnated, ſhe completes her taſk without needing any help from the male. Retiring from him, ſhe chuſes a ſafe place for her neſt, where ſhe can find plenty of worms and graſs-ſeed at hand. And her young, as ſoon as hatched, take foot and ſeek food for themſelves. The only remaining duty incumbent on the dam is, to lead them to proper places for food, and to call them together when danger impends. Some males, provoked at the deſertion of their mates, break the eggs if they happen to find them. If a Turkey hen die during hatching, the cock takes her place in the neſt; and after the young are hatched, he tends them as a hen does. Not only ſo, but when the female is engaged with a new brood, the cock takes care of the former brood, leads them about for food, and acts in every reſpect as the female did before. Eider-ducks pair like other birds that place their neſts on the ground; and the female finiſhes her neſt with down plucked from her own breaſt. If the neſt be deſtroyed for the down, which is remarkably warm and elaſtic, ſhe makes another neſt as before. If ſhe be robbed a ſecond time, ſhe makes a third neſt; but the male furniſhes the down. A lady of ſpirit obſerved, that the Eider-duck may give a leſſon to many a married woman, who is more diſpoſed to pluck her huſband than herſelf. The black game never pair: in ſpring the cock on an eminence crows, and

and claps his wings; and all the females within hearing inſtantly refort to him*.

Pairing birds, excepting thoſe of prey, flock together in February, in order to chuſe their mates. They ſoon diſperſe; and are not ſeen afterwards but in pairs.

Pairing is unknown to quadrupeds that feed on graſs. To ſuch it would be uſeleſs; as the female gives ſuck to her young while ſhe herſelf is feeding. If M. Buffon deſerve credit, the roe-deer are an exception. They pair, though they feed on graſs, and have but one litter in a year.

Beaſts of prey, ſuch as lions, tigers, wolves, pair not. The female is left to ſhift for herſelf and for her young; which is a laborious taſk, and frequently ſo unſucceſsful as to ſhorten life. Pairing is eſſential to birds of prey, becauſe incubation leaves the female no ſufficient time to ſearch for food. Pairing is not neceſſary to beaſts of prey, becauſe their young can bear a long faſt. Add another reaſon, that they would multiply ſo faſt by pairing, as to prove troubleſome neighbours to the human race.

Among animals that pair not, males fight deſperately about a female. Such a battle among horned cattle is finely deſcribed by Lucretius. Nor

* A hen that had hatched ſeveral broods of ducklings, carried her own chickens to the water, thruſt them in by force, and reſted not till they were all drowned. Such is the force of cuſtom, even againſt nature.

Nor is it unuſual, that ſeven or eight lions wage bloody war for a ſingle female.

The ſame reaſon that makes pairing neceſſary for gregarious birds, obtains with reſpect to gregarious quadrupeds; thoſe eſpecially who ſtore up food for winter, and during that ſeaſon live in common. Diſcord among ſuch, would be attended with worſe conſequences than even among lions or bulls, who are not confined to one place. The beavers, with reſpect to pairing, reſemble birds that place their neſts on the ground. As ſoon as the young are produced, the males abandon their ſtock of food to their mates, and live at large; but return frequently to viſit them, while they are ſuckling their young.

Hedge-hogs pair, and ſeveral of the monkey kind. We are not well acquainted with the natural hiſtory of theſe animals; but it may be preſumed that the young require the nurſing care of both parents.

Seals have a ſingular economy. Polygamy ſeems to be a law of nature among them, as a male aſſociates with ſeveral females. The ſea-turtle has no occaſion to pair, as the female concludes her taſk with laying her eggs in the ſand. The young are hatched by the ſun; and immediately crawl to the ſea.

In every other branch of animal economy concerning the continuance of the ſpecies, the hand of Providence is equally conſpicuous. The young of pairing

pairing birds are produced in the ſpring, when the weather begins to be comfortable; and their early production makes them firm and vigorous before winter, to endure the hardſhips of that rigorous ſeaſon. Such early production is in particular favourable to eagles, and other birds of prey; for in the ſpring they have plenty of food, by the return of birds of paſſage.

Though the time of geſtation varies conſiderably in the different quadrupeds that feed on graſs, yet the female is regularly delivered early in ſummer, when graſs is in plenty. The mare admits the ſtallion in ſummer, carries eleven months, and is delivered the beginning of May. The cow differs little. A ſheep and a goat take the male in November, carry five months, and produce when graſs begins to ſpring. Theſe animals love ſhort graſs, upon which a mare or a cow would ſtarve. The obſervation holds in climates ſo temperate as to encourage graſs in the ſpring, and to preſerve it in verdure all the ſummer. I am informed that in Italy, ſheep copulate from June to July: the female goes twenty weeks, and is delivered in November or December, preciſely at the time when graſs there is in the greateſt plenty. In April the graſs is burnt up; and ſheep have nothing but ſhrubs to browſe on. This appears to me a ſignal inſtance of providential care *. The rutting-ſeaſon

* I have it upon good authority, that ewes paſturing in a hilly country chooſe early ſome ſnug ſpot, where they may drop their

ſon of the red-deer is the end of September, and beginning of October: it continues for three weeks; during which time, the male runs from female to female without intermiſſion. The female brings forth in May, or beginning of June; and the female of the fallow-deer brings forth at the ſame time. The ſhe-aſs takes the male the beginning of ſummer; but ſhe bears twelve months, which fixes her delivery to ſummer. Wolves and foxes copulate in December: the female carries five months, and brings forth in April, when animal food is as plentiful as at any other ſeaſon; and the ſhe-lion brings forth about the ſame time. Of this early birth there is one evident advantage, hinted above: the young have time to grow ſo firm as eaſily to bear the inclemencies of winter.

Were one to gueſs what probably would be the time of rutting, ſummer would be named, eſpecially in a cold climate. And yet to quadrupeds who carry but four or five months, that economy would throw the time of delivery to an improper ſeaſon, for warmth, as well as for food. Wiſely is it ordered, that the delivery ſhould conſtantly be at the beſt ſeaſon for both.

Gregarious quadrupeds that ſtore up food for winter, differ from all other quadrupeds with re-

ſpect

their young with ſafety. And hence the riſk of removing a flock to a new field immediately before delivery: many lambs periſh by being dropped in improper places.

ſpect to the time of delivery. Beavers copulate about the end of autumn, and bring forth in January, when their granary is full. The ſame economy probably obtains among all other quadrupeds of the ſame kind.

One rule takes place among all brute-animals, without a ſingle exception, That the female never is burdened with two litters at the ſame time. The time of geſtation is ſo unerringly calculated by nature, that the young brood can provide for themſelves before another brood comes on. Even a hare is not an exception, though many litters are produced in a year. The female carries thirty or thirty-one days; but ſhe ſuckles her young only twenty days, after which they provide for themſelves, and leave her free to a new litter.

The care of animals to preſerve their young from harm is a beautiful inſtance of Providence. When a hind hears the hounds, ſhe puts herſelf in the way of being hunted, and leads them from her fawn. The lapwing is no leſs ingenious: if a perſon approach, ſhe flies about, retiring always from her neſt. A partridge is extremely artful: ſhe hops away, hanging a wing as if broken: lingers till the perſon approach, and hops again *. A hen, timid

* The following incident hardly deſerves to be mentioned, it is ſo common, but that the tear is ſcarce dry which the ſight wrung from me. A man mowing a field for hay, paſſed over a partridge ſitting on her eggs. Turning about to cut down

a

timid by nature, is bold as a lion in defence of her young: ſhe darts upon every creature that threatens danger. The roebuck defends its young with reſolution and courage. So doth a ram; and ſo do many other quadrupeds.

Let me add a few words about the nature of inſtinct in animals. Inſtinct is an impulſe of nature to perform neceſſary acts where reaſon is deficient. The actions of brute animals are generally directed by inſtinct; but, as in man, the rational principle is more vigorous, he is truſted to the conduct of that principle, and is not left to be directed by inſtinct, except in ſingular caſes where reaſon cannot be of uſe. The inſtincts of animals are finely adjuſted to the other branches of their conſtitution. An ox, which chews the cud, ſwallows greedily, and grinds after at leiſure. A horſe, which does not chew the cud, grinds carefully in eating. Monſieur Buffon admits, that, by inſtinct, birds of paſſage change their habitation; and yet, ſo crude are his notions of inſtinct, as to aſſign cauſes for the change, which require both reflection and foreſight far above the glimmering reaſon they are endued with. Quails, ſays he, during ſummer, are always travelling north, becauſe they are afraid of heat; or, perhaps, to leave a country where

a tuft that had been left, he unhappily brought up the partridge on the point of his ſcythe. Such affection there is even for a brood not yet brought to light.

where the harveſt is over, for another where it is later. This would be a degree of knowledge denied even to man, unleſs from experience. Ariſtotle, with as little accuracy, maintains, that it is from a thorough knowledge of the ſeaſons that birds of paſſage change their habitation twice a-year. It is, I admit, the final cauſe of their migration; but undoubtedly blind inſtinct is the efficient cauſe. The magpie, he obſerves, covers its neſt, leaving only a hole in the ſide to get in and out at; well knowing that many birds of prey are fond of its eggs. Yet the ſame Buffon obſerving, that, when a ſparrow builds under a roof, it gives no cover to its neſt, covering it only when it builds on a tree; and that a beaver, which erects a ſtrong dam-dike to keep a running water always at the ſame height, never thinks of ſuch an operation when it ſettles on the brink of a lake which varies little in height; maintains theſe variations to be the perfection of inſtinct. Is it not apparent that reaſon is neceſſary to make a being to vary its conduct according to circumſtances; and that what is obſerved of the ſparrow and beaver is evidence of no ſlight degree of reflection? Inſtinct, on the contrary, is a blind impulſe of nature, which prompts always the ſame uniform courſe, without regard to variation of circumſtances.

It is obſerved by an ingenious writer*, that nature ſports in the colour of domeſtic animals, in order

* Pennant,

order that men may the more readily diſtinguiſh their own. It is not eaſy to ſay why colour is more varied in ſuch animals, than in thoſe which remain in the ſtate of nature: I can only ſay, that the cauſe aſſigned is not ſatisfactory. One is ſeldom at a loſs to diſtinguiſh one animal from another; and Providence never interpoſes to vary the ordinary courſe of nature, for an end ſo little neceſſary as to make the diſtinction ſtill more obvious. I add, that it does not appear, in any inſtance, the intention of Providence, to encourage inattention and indolence.

The foregoing particulars are offered to the public as hints merely: may it not be hoped, that they will excite curioſity in thoſe who reliſh natural hiſtory? The field is rich, though little cultivated; and I know no other branch of natural hiſtory that opens finer views into the conduct of Providence.

SKETCH

SKETCH VII.

PROGRESS AND EFFECTS OF LUXURY.

THE wiſdom of Providence is in no inſtance more conſpicuous than in adjuſting the conſtitution of man to his external circumſtances. Food is extremely precarious in the hunter-ſtate; ſometimes ſuperabounding with little fatigue, ſometimes failing after great fatigue. A ſavage, like other animals of prey, has a ſtomach adjuſted to that variety: he can bear a long faſt; and gorges voraciouſly when he has plenty, without being the worſe for it. Whence it is, that barbarians, who have ſcarce any ſenſe of decency, are great and groſs feeders *. The Kamſkatkans love fat; and a man entertains his gueſts, by cramming into their

* In the Iliad of Homer, book ix. Agamemnon calls a council at night in his tent. Before entering on buſineſs, they go to ſupper, (line 122). An embaſſy to Achilles is reſolved on. The ambaſſadors again ſup with Achilles on pork griſkins, (line 271). Achilles rejects Agamemnon's offer; and the ſame night Ulyſſes and Diomed ſet out on their expedition to the Trojan camp: returning before day, they had a third ſupper.

their mouths fat ſlices of a ſeal, or a whale, cutting off with his knife what hangs out. Barbarians are equally addicted to drunkenneſs; and peculiarly fond of ſpiritous liquors. Drinking was a faſhionable vice in Greece, when Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus, wrote, if we can rely on the tranſlations or imitations of their plays by Plautus and Terence. Cyrus preparing to attack his brother Artaxerxes, King of Perſia, publiſhed a manifeſto, that he was more worthy of the throne than his brother, becauſe he could ſwallow more wine. Diodorus Siculus reports, that, in his time, the Gauls, like other barbarians, were much addicted to drinking. The ancient Scandinavians, who, like other ſavages, were intemperate in eating and drinking, ſwallowed large cups to their gods, and to ſuch of their countrymen as had fallen bravely in battle. We learn from the 25th fable of the Edda, which was their ſacred book, that to hold much liquor, was reputed a heroic virtue. Contarini, the Venetian ambaſſador, who wrote *anno* 1473, ſays, that the Ruſſians were abandoned to drunkenneſs; and that the whole race would have been extirpated, had not ſtrong liquors been diſcharged by the ſovereign.

A habit of faſting long, acquired as above, in the hunter-ſtate, made meals in the ſhepherd-ſtate leſs frequent than at preſent, though food was at hand. Anciently people fed but once a-day, a faſhion that continued even after luxury was indul-

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ged in other respects. In the war of Xerxes against Greece, it was pleasantly said of the Abderites, who were burdened with providing for the King's table, that they ought to thank the gods for not inclining Xerxes to eat twice a-day. Plato held the Sicilians to be gluttons, for having two meals every day. Arian* observes, that the Tyrrhenians had the same bad habit. In the reign of Henry VI. the people of England fed but twice a-day. Hector Boyes, in his History of Scotland, exclaiming against the growing luxury of his contemporaries, says, that some persons were so gluttonous, as to have three meals every day.

Luxury, undoubtedly, and love of society, tended to increase the number of meals beyond what nature requires. On the other hand, there is a cause that kept down the number for some time, which is, the introduction of machines. Bodily strength is essential to a savage, being his only instrument; and with it he performs wonders. Machines have rendered bodily strength of little importance; and, as men labour less than originally, they eat less in proportion †. Listen to Hollinshed, the English historian, upon that article: "Heretofore, there hath been much more time

 "spent

* Lib. iv. cap. 16.

† Before fire-arms were known, people gloried in address and bodily strength, and commonly fought hand to hand. But violent exercises, becoming less and less necessary, went insensibly out of fashion.

" ſpent in eating and drinking, than commonly is " in theſe days; for whereas, of old, we had break- " faſts in the forenoon, beverages or nunchions after " dinner, and thereto rear-ſuppers when it was " time to go to reſt; now theſe odd repaſts, thank- " ed be God, are very well left, and each one con- " tenteth himſelf with dinner and ſupper only." Thus, before cookery and luxury crept in, a moderate ſtomach, occaſioned by the abridging bodily labour, made eating leſs frequent than formerly. But the motion did not long continue retrograde: good cookery, and the pleaſure of eating in company, turned the tide; and people now eat leſs at a time, but more frequently.

Feaſts in former times were carried beyond all bounds. William of Malmſbury, who wrote in the days of Henry II. ſays, " That the Engliſh were " univerſally addicted to drunkenneſs, continuing " over their cups day and night, keeping open " houſe, and ſpending the income of their eſtates " in riotous feaſts, where eating and drinking " were carried to exceſs, without any elegance." People who live in a corner imagine that every thing is peculiar to themſelves: what Malmſbury ſays of the Engliſh is common to all nations, in advancing from the ſelfiſhneſs of ſavages to a reliſh for ſociety, but who have not yet learned to bridle their appetites. Giraldus Cambrenſis, ſpeaking of the Monks of Saint Swithin, ſays, that they threw themſelves proſtrate at the feet of King Henry II. and

and with many tears complained, that the Biſhop, who was their abbot, had withdrawn from them three of their uſual number of diſhes. Henry, having made them acknowledge that there ſtill remained ten diſhes, ſaid, that he himſelf was contented with three, and recommended to the Biſhop to reduce them to that number. Leland* mentions a feaſt given by the Archbiſhop of York, at his inſtallation, in the reign of Edward IV. The following is a ſpecimen: 300 quarters of wheat, 300 tons of ale, 100 tons of wine, 1000 ſheep, 104 oxen, 304 calves, 304 ſwine, 2000 geeſe, 1000 capons, 2000 pigs, 400 ſwans, 104 peacocks, 1500 hot veniſon paſties, 4000 cold, 5000 cuſtards, hot and cold. Such entertainments are a picture of manners. At that early period, there was not diſcovered in ſociety any pleaſure but that of crowding together in hunting and feaſting. The delicate pleaſures of converſation, in communicating opinions, ſentiments, and deſires, were to them unknown. There appeared, however, even at that early period, a faint dawn of the fine arts. In ſuch feaſts as are mentioned above, a curious deſert was ſometimes exhibited, termed *ſutteltie*, viz. paſte moulded into the ſhape of animals. On a ſaint's day, angels, prophets, and patriarchs, were ſet upon the table in plenty. A feaſt given by Trivultius to Lewis XII. of France, in the city of Milan, makes a figure in Italian hiſtory. No fewer

* Collectanea.

than 1200 ladies were invited; and the Cardinals of Narbon and St Severin, with many other prelates, were among the dancers. After dancing, followed the feaſt, to regulate which there were no ſewer employed than 160 maſter-houſeholds. Twelve hundred officers, in an uniform of velvet, or ſatin, carried the victuals, and ſerved at the ſideboard. Every table, without diſtinction, was ſerved with ſilver-plate, engraved with the arms of the landlord; and beſide a prodigious number of Italian lords, the whole court, and all the houſehold of the King, were feaſted. The bill of fare of an entertainment given by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn to a company of 1500 perſons, on his coming of age, is a ſample of ancient Engliſh hoſpitality, which appears to have nothing in view but crowding and cramming merely. The following paſſage is from Hollinſhed: "That the length and "ſumptuouſneſs of feaſts formerly in uſe, are not "totally left off in England, notwithſtanding that "it proveth very beneficial to the phyſicians, who "moſt abound where moſt exceſs and miſgovern-"ment of our bodies do appear." He adds, that claret, and other French wines, were deſpiſed, and ſtrong wines only in requeſt. The beſt, he ſays, were to be found in monaſteries: for "that the "merchant would have thought his ſoul would go "ſtraightway to the devil, if he ſhould ſerve "monks with other than the beſt." Our forefathers reliſhed ſtrong wine, for the ſame reaſon that their

their forefathers relished brandy. In Scotland, sumptuous entertainments were common at marriages, baptisms, and burials. In the reign of Charles II. a statute was thought necessary to confine them within moderate bounds.

Of old, there was much eating with little variety: at present, there is great variety, with more moderation. From a household-book of the Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry VIII, it appears that his family, during winter, fed mostly on salt meat, and salt fish; and with that view there was an appointment of 160 gallons of mustard. On flesh-days, through the year, breakfast for my Lord and Lady was a loaf of bread, two manchets a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled; on meagre days, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, a dish of butter, a piece of salt fish, or a dish of buttered eggs: during Lent, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herring, four white herring, or a dish of sprots. There was as little variety in the other meals, except on festival days. That way of living was at the time high luxury: a lady's waiting-woman, at present, would never have done with grumbling at such a table. We learn from the same book, that the Earl had but two cooks for dressing victuals to more than two hundred domestics. In those days, hen, chicken, capon, pigeon, plover,

partridge, were reckoned ſuch delicacies, as to be prohibited, except at my Lord's table *.

But luxury is always creeping on, and delicacies become more familiar. Hollinſhed obſerves, that white meats, milk, butter, and cheeſe, formerly the chief food of his countrymen, were in his time degraded to be the food of the lower ſort; and that the wealthy fed upon fleſh and fiſh. By a roll of the King of Scotland's houſehold expence, *anno* 1378, we find, that the art of gelding cattle was known. The role is in Latin, and gelt hogs are termed *porcelli eunuchi.* Mention is alſo made of chickens, which were not common on Engliſh tables at that time. Olive oil is alſo mentioned.

In this progreſs, cooks, we may believe, came to make a figure. Hollinſhed obſerves, that the nobility, rejecting their own cookery, employed as cooks muſical-headed Frenchmen and ſtrangers, as he terms them. He ſays, that even merchants, when they gave a feaſt, rejected butcher's meat as unworthy of their tables; having jellies of all colours, and in all figures, repreſenting flowers, trees, beaſts, fiſh, fowl, and fruit. Henry Wardlaw, Archbiſhop of St Andrews, obſerving the refinements in cookery introduced by James I. of Scotland, who had been eighteen years a priſoner in England, exclaimed againſt the abuſe in a parliament held at Perth 1433: he obtained a law, reſtraining

* Houſehold-book above mentioned.

ſtraining ſuperfluous diet; and prohibiting the uſe of baked meat to any under the degree of gentlemen, and permitting it to gentlemen on feſtival-days only; which baked meat, ſays the biſhop, was never before ſeen in Scotland. The peaſants in Sicily regale themſelves with ice during ſummer. They ſay, that ſcarcity of ſnow would be more grievous to them than ſcarcity of corn or of wine. Such progreſs has luxury made, even among the populace. People of faſhion in London and in Paris, who employ their whole thoughts on luxurious living, would be ſurpriſed to be told, that they are ſtill deficient in that art. In order to advance luxury of the table to the *acme* of perfection, there ought to be a cook for every diſh, as in ancient Egypt there was a phyſician for every diſeaſe.

Barbarous nations, being great eaters, are fond of large joints of meats; and love of ſhow retains great joints in faſhion, even after meals become more moderate: a wild boar was roaſted whole for a ſupper-diſh to Anthony and Cleopatra; and ſtuffed with poultry and wild-fowl, it was a favourite diſh at Rome, termed the *Trojan boar*, in alluſion to the Trojan horſe. The hoſpitality of the Anglo-Saxons was ſometimes exerted in roaſting an ox whole. Great joints are left off gradually, as people become more and more delicate in eating. In France, great joints are leſs in uſe than formerly; and in England, the enormous ſurloin, formerly the pride of the nation, is now in polite fa-

milies

milies banished to the side-board. In China, where manners are carried to a high degree of refinement, dishes are composed entirely of minced meat *.

In early times, people were no less plain in their houses than in their food. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, when Hollinshed wrote, the people of England were beginning to build with brick and stone. Formerly houses were made of timber posts, wattled together and plastered with clay to keep out the cold: the roof was straw, sedge, or reed. It was an observation of a Spaniard in Queen Mary's days, "These English have "their houses of sticks and dirt, but they fare as "well as the King." Hollinshed mentioning multitudes of chimneys lately erected, observes, upon the authority of some old men, that in their younger days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm, religious houses and manor-places of their lords excepted; but that each made his fire against a rere-dosse

* The size of an animal may be abridged by spare diet; but its strength and vigour are not abridged in proportion. Our highlanders live very poorly; and yet are a hardy race. The horses bred in that mountainous country are of a diminutive size; but no other horses can bear so much fatigue. Camels in the deserts of Arabia are trained to long abstinence. They are loaded more and more as they grow up; and their food is diminished in proportion. Plenty of succulent food raises an animal to its greatest size; but its solids are soft and flexible in proportion to its size.

doſſe in the hall, where he dined, and dreſſed his meat. From Lord Northumberland's houſehold-book, it would ſeem that grates were unknown at that time, and that they burnt their coal upon the hearth: a certain ſum is allotted for purchaſing wood; becauſe, ſays the book, coals will not burn without it. There is alſo a certain ſum allotted for purchaſing charcoal, that the ſmoke of the ſea-coal might not hurt the arras. In the fourteenth century, the houſes of private perſons in Paris, as well as in London, were of wood. Morriſon, who wrote in the beginning of the laſt century, ſays, that at London the houſes of the citizens were very narrow in the ſtreet-front, five or ſix ſtories high, commonly of wood and clay with plaſter. The ſtreets of Paris, not being paved, were covered with mud; and yet for a woman to travel theſe ſtreets in a cart, was held an article of luxury, and as ſuch prohibited by Philip the Fair. Paris is enlarged two-thirds ſince the death of Henry IV. though at that time it was perhaps no leſs populous than at preſent.

People were equally plain in their houſehold-furniture. While money was ſcarce, ſervants got land inſtead of wages. An old tenure in England, binds the vaſſal to find ſtraw for the King's bed, and hay for his horſe. From Lord Northumberland's houſehold-book, mentioned above, it appears, that the linen allowed for a whole year amounted to no more but ſeventy ells; of which

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there were to be eight table-cloths (no napkins) for his Lordſhip's table, and two towels for waſhing his face and hands. Pewter veſſels were prohibited to be hired, except on Chriſtmas, Eaſter, St George's day, and Whitſunday. Hollinſhed mentions his converſing with old men, who remarked many alterations in England within their remembrance; that their fathers, and they themſelves formerly, had nothing to ſleep on but a ſtraw pallet, with a log of wood for a pillow; a pillow, ſaid they, being thought meet only for a woman in childbed; and that if a man in ſeven years after marriage could purchaſe a flock-bed, and a ſack of chaff to reſt his head upon, he thought himſelf as well lodged as the lord of the town; who peradventure lay ſeldom on a bed entirely of feathers. Another thing they remarked, was change of houſehold-veſſels from timber plates into pewter, and from wooden ſpoons into tin or ſilver.

Nor were they leſs plain in their dreſs. By an act of Parliament in Scotland, *anno* 1429, none were permitted to wear ſilk or coſtly furs, but knights and lords of 200 merks yearly rent. But luxury in dreſs advanced ſo faſt, that, by another act, *anno* 1457, the ſame dreſs was permitted to aldermen, bailies, and other good worthy men within burgh. And by a third act, *anno* 1471, it was permitted to gentlemen of L. 100 yearly rent. By a ſumptuary law in Scotland, *anno* 1621, cloth of

of gold and ſilver, gold and ſilver lace, velvet, ſatin, and other ſilk ſtuffs, were prohibited except to noblemen, their wives and children, to lords of parliament, prelates, privy councillors, lords of manors, judges, magiſtrates of towns, and to thoſe who have 6000 merks of yearly rent. Such diſtinctions, with reſpect to land eſpecially, are invidious; nor can they ever be kept up. James, the firſt Britiſh monarch, was, during infancy, committed to the Dowager-Counteſs of Mar, who had been educated in France. The King being ſeized with a cholic in the night-time, his houſehold ſervants flew to his bed-chamber, men and women, naked as they were born; the Counteſs only had a ſmock.

During the reign of Edward III., the imports into England were not the ſeventh part of the exports. Our exports at that time were not the ſeventh part of our preſent exports; and yet our luxury is ſuch, that, with all our political regulations, it is with difficulty that the balance of trade is preſerved in our favour.

Men, in different ages, differ widely in their notions of luxury: every new object of ſenſual gratification, and every indulgence beyond what is uſual, are commonly termed *luxury;* and ceaſe to be luxury when they turn habitual. Thus every hiſtorian, ancient and modern, while he inveighs againſt the luxury of his own times, wonders at former hiſtorians for characteriſing as luxu-

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ry what he confiders as conveniencies merely, or rational improvements. Hear the Roman hiftorian, talking of the war that his countrymen carried on fucceffully againft Antiochus King of Syria: "Luxuriæ enim peregrinæ origo ab exercitu Afiatico invecta urbem eft. Ii primum lectos æratos, veftem ftragulam pretiofam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quæ tum magnificæ fupellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam advexerunt. Tunc pfaltriæ, fambufiftriæque, et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis: epulæ quoque ipfæ et cura et fumptu majore adparari cœptæ: tum coquus, viliffimum antiquis mancipium æftimatione et ufu, in pretio effe: et, quod minifterium fuerat, ars haberi cæpta. Vix tamen illa, quæ tum confpiciebantur, femina erant futuræ luxuriæ *."

Houfehold-

* "For the Afiatic foldiers firft introduced into Rome the foreign luxury. They firft brought with them beds ornamented with brazen fculptures, painted coverings, curtains and tapeftry, and what were then efteemed magnificent furniture, fide-boards, and tables with one foot. Then to the luxury of our feafts were added finging girls, female players on the lute, and morris-dancers: greater care and expence were beftowed upon our entertainments: the cook, whom our forefathers reckoned the meaneft flave, became now in high eftem and requeft; and what was formerly a fervile employment, was now exalted into a fcience. All thefe, however, fcarcely deferve to be reckoned the feeds or buds of the luxury of after times."—Tit. Liv. lib. xxxix. cap. 6.

Household-furniture at Rome must at that period have been wonderfully plain, when a carpet and a one-footed table were reckoned articles of luxury. When the gelding of bulls and rams was first practised, it was probably considered as abominable luxury. Galvanus Fiamma, who in the fourteenth century wrote a history of Milan, his native country, complains, that in his time plain living had given way to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederic Barbarossa and Frederic II. when the inhabitants of Milan, a great capital, had but three flesh meals in a week, when wine was a rarity, when the better sort made use of dried wood for candles, and when their shirts were of serge, linen being confined to persons of the highest rank. "Matters," says he, "are wonderfully changed: linen is a common wear: the "women dress in silk, ornamented frequently with "gold and silver; and they wear gold pendants "at their ears." A historian of the present times would laugh at Fiamma, for stating as articles of luxury what are no more but decent for a tradesman and his wife. John Musso, a native of Lombardy, who also wrote in the fourteenth century, declaims against the luxury of his cotemporaries, particularly against that of the citizens of Placentia his countrymen. "Luxury of the table," says he, "of dress, of houses and household-furniture, "in Placentia, began to creep in after the year "1300. Houses have at present halls, rooms with "chimneys,

" chimneys, porticos, wells, gardens, and many " other conveniencies, unknown to our anceſtors. " A houſe that has now many chimneys, had " none in the laſt age. The fire was placed in the " middle of the houſe, without any vent for the " ſmoke but the tiles: all the family ſat round it, " and the victuals were dreſſed there. The ex- " pence of houſehold-furniture is ten times great- " er than it was ſixty years ago. The taſte for " ſuch expence comes to us from France, from " Flanders, and from Spain. Eating tables, for- " merly but twelve inches long, are now grown " to eighteen. They have table-cloths, with cups, " ſpoons, and forks, of ſilver, and large knives. " Beds have ſilk coverings and curtains. They " have got candles of tallow or wax in candle- " ſticks of iron or copper. Almoſt every where " there are two fires, one for the chamber, and one " for the kitchen. Confections have come greatly " in uſe, and ſenſuality regards no expence." Hollinſhed exclaims againſt the luxury and effeminacy that prevailed in his time. " In times " paſt," ſays he, " men were contented to dwell " in houſes builded of ſallow, willow, plumtree, " or elm; ſo that the uſe of oak was dedicated to " churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, noble- " mens lodgings, and navigation. But now, theſe " are rejected, and nothing but oak any whit re- " garded. And yet ſee the change; for when our " houſes were builded of willow, then had we

" oaken

" oaken men; but now that our houſes are made " of oak, our men are not only become willow, but " many, through Perſian delicacy crept in among " us, altogether of ſtraw, which is a ſore altera- " tion. In thoſe days, the courage of the owner " was a ſufficient defence to keep the houſe in " ſafety; but now, the aſſurance of the timber, " double doors, locks and bolts, muſt defend the " man from robbing. Now, have we many chim- " neys, and our tenderlings complain of rheums, " catarrhs, and poſes. Then, had we none but " rere-doſſes, and our heads did never ake. For " as the ſmoke in thoſe days was ſuppoſed to be a " ſufficient hardening for the timber of the houſe; " ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to keep " the goodman and his family from the quack or " poſe, wherewith very few were then acquaint- " ed." Not many more than fifty years ago, French wine, in Edinburgh taverns, was preſented to the gueſts in a ſmall tin veſſel, meaſuring about an Engliſh pint. A ſingle drinking glaſs ſerved a company the whole evening; and the firſt perſons who inſiſted for a clean glaſs with every new pint, were accuſed of luxury. A knot of Highlanders benighted, wrapped themſelves up in their plaids, and lay down in the ſnow to ſleep. A young gentleman making up a ball of ſnow, uſed it for a pillow. His father *, ſtriking away the ball with

* Sir Evan Cameron.

his foot, "What, Sir," ſays he, "are you turning "effeminate?" Crantz, deſcribing the kingdom of Norway and the manners of the people, has the following reflection: "Robuſtiſſimos educat viros, "qui, nullâ frugum luxuriâ moliti, ſæpiùs impug- "nant alios quàm impugnantur*." In the mountainous iſland of Rum, one of the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland, the corn produced ſerves the inhabitants but a few months in winter. The reſt of the year they live on fleſh, fiſh, and milk; and yet are healthy and long-lived. In the year 1768, a man died there aged 103, who was 50 years old before he ever taſted bread. This old man frequently harangued upon the plain fare of former times; finding fault with his neighbours for indulging in bread, and upbraiding them for toiling like ſlaves to produce ſuch an unnéceſſary article of luxury. The inhabitants of Canada, before they were known to Europeans, were but thinly clothed in a bitter cold climate. They had no covering but a ſingle ſkin, girded about them with a belt of leather. The coarſe woollen cloth which they were taught to wear by the French, raiſed bitter lamentations in their old men for increaſe of luxury and decline of manners.

Thus, every one exclaims againſt the luxury of the preſent times, judging more favourably of the paſt;

* "It produces a moſt robuſt race of men, who are ener- "vated by no luxury of food, and are more prone to attack "and haraſs their neighbours, than ſubjected to their at- "tacks."

paſt; as if what is luxury at preſent, would ceaſe to be luxury when it becomes cuſtomary. What is the foundation of a ſentiment ſo univerſal? In point of dignity, corporeal pleaſures are the loweſt of all that belong to our nature; and for that reaſon perſons of delicacy diſſemble the pleaſure they have in eating and drinking *. When corporeal pleaſure is indulged to exceſs, it is not only low, but mean. But as, in judging of things that admit of degrees, compariſon is the ordinary ſtandard; every refinement in corporeal pleaſure beyond what is cuſtomary, is held to be a blameable exceſs, below the dignity of human nature. For that reaſon, every improvement in living is pronounced to be luxury while recent, and drops that character when it comes into common uſe. For the ſame reaſon, what is moderation in the capital, is eſteemed luxury in a country-town. Doth luxury then depend entirely on compariſon? is there no other foundation for diſtinguiſhing moderation from exceſs? This will hardly be maintained.

This ſubject is rendered obſcure by giving different meanings to the term *luxury*. A French writer holds every ſort of food to be luxury but raw fleſh and acorns, which were the original food of ſavages; and every ſort of covering to be luxury but ſkins, which were their original cloathing. According to that definition, the plough, the ſpade, the loom, are all of them inſtruments of luxury;

* Elements of Criticiſm, vol. i. p. 356. edit. 5.

luxury; in which view, he juſtly extols luxury to the ſkies. We are born naked, becauſe we can clothe ourſelves; and artificial cloathing is to man as much in the order of nature, as hair or feathers are to other animals. But whatever accords to the common nature of man, is right; and for that reaſon cannot in a proper ſenſe be termed *luxury*. Shoes are a refinement from walking barefoot; and Voltaire, taking this refinement to be luxury, laughs at thoſe who declaim againſt luxury. Let every man enjoy the privilege of giving his own meaning to words: but when a man deviates ſo far from their uſual meaning, the neglect to define them is inexcuſable. In common language and in common apprehenſion, luxury always implies a faulty exceſs; and upon that account, is condemned by all writers, ſuch only excepted as affect to be ſingular.

Faulty exceſs is clearly one branch of the definition of luxury. Another is, that the exceſs muſt be habitual: a ſingle act of intemperance, however faulty, is not denominated luxury: reiteration muſt be ſo frequent, as to become a confirmed habit.

Nor are theſe particulars all that enter into the definition of luxury. There are many pleaſures, however intemperate or habitual, that are not branded with that odious name. Mental pleaſure, ſuch as ariſes from ſentiment or reaſoning, falls not within the verge of luxury, to whatever exceſs

ceſs indulged. If to relieve merit in diſtreſs be luxury, it is only ſo in a metaphorical ſenſe: nor is it deemed luxury in a damſel of fifteen to peruſe love-novels from morning till evening. Luxury is confined to the external ſenſes: nor does it belong to every one of theſe: the fine arts have no relation to luxury. A man is not even ſaid to be luxurious, merely for indulging in dreſs, or in fine furniture. Hollinſhed inveighs againſt drinking-glaſſes as an article of luxury. At that rate, a houſe adorned with fine pictures or ſtatues, would be an imputation on the proprietor. Thus, paſſing in review every pleaſure of external ſenſe, we find, that in proper language the term luxury is not applicable to any pleaſure of the eye or ear. That term is confined to the pleaſures of taſte, touch, and ſmell, which appear as exiſting at the organ of ſenſe, and upon that account are held to be merely corporeal *.

Having thus circumſcribed our ſubject within its proper bounds, the important point that remains to be aſcertained is, Whether we have any rule for determining what exceſs in corporeal pleaſure may juſtly be denominated faulty. About that point we are at no loſs. Though our preſent life be a ſtate of trial, yet our Maker has kindly indulged us in every pleaſure that is not hurtful to the mind nor to the body; and therefore no exceſs but what is hurtful falls under the cenſure

* See Elements of Criticiſm, Introduction.

of being luxurious: it is faulty, as a tranſgreſſion of ſelf-duty; and, as ſuch, is condemned by the moral ſenſe. The moſt violent declaimer againſt luxury will not affirm, that bread is luxury, or a ſnow-ball uſed for a pillow: theſe are innocent, becauſe they do no harm. As little will it be affirmed, that dwelling-houſes, more capacious than thoſe originally built, ought to be condemned as luxury; ſeeing they contribute to cheerfulneſs as well as to health. The plague, ſome centuries ago, made frequent viſits to London, promoted by air ſtagnating in narrow ſtreets and ſmall houſes. From the great fire *anno* 1666, when the houſes and ſtreets were enlarged, the plague has not once been in London.

Man conſiſts of ſoul and body, ſo intimately connected, that the one cannot be at eaſe while the other ſuffers. In order to have *mens ſana in corpore ſano*, it is neceſſary to ſtudy the health of both: bodily health ſupports the mind; and nothing tends more than cheerfulneſs to ſupport the body, even under a diſeaſe. To preſerve this complicated machine in order, certain exerciſes are proper for the body, and certain for the mind; which ought never to incroach the one on the other. Much motion and bodily exerciſe tend to make us robuſt; but, in the mean time, the mind is ſtarved: much reading and reflection fortify the mind, but in the mean time, the body is ſtarved. Nor is this all: exceſs in either is deſtructive to both;

both; for exercise too violent, whether of mind or body, wears the machine. Indolence, on the other hand, relaxes the machine, and renders it weak or useless. Bodily indolence breeds the gout, the gravel, and many other diseases: nor is mental indolence less pernicious, for it breeds peevishness and pusillanimity. Thus health, both of mind and body, is best preserved by moderate exercise. And hence a general proposition, That every indulgence in corporeal pleasure, which favours either too violent or too languid exercise, whether of mind or body, is hurtful, and consequently is luxury in its proper sense. It is scarce necessary to be added, that every such indulgence is condemned by the moral sense; of which every man can bear testimony from what he himself feels.

Too great indulgence in corporeal pleasure seldom prompts violent exercise; but instances are without number, of its relaxing even that moderate degree of exercise which is healthful both to mind and body. This, in particular, is the case of too great indulgence in eating or drinking: such indulgence, creating a habitual appetite for more than nature requires, loads the stomach, depresses the spirits; and brings on a habit of listlessness and inactivity, which renders men cowardly and effeminate *. And what does the epicure gain

 by

* Luxury and selfishness render men cowards. People who are attached to riches or to sensual pleasure, cannot think, without

by ſuch exceſs? In a grand palace, the maſter occupies not a greater ſpace than his meaneſt domeſtic; and brings to his moſt ſumptuous feaſt perhaps leſs appetite than any of his gueſts. Satiety withal makes him loſe the reliſh even of rarities, which afford to others a poignant pleaſure. Liſten to a ſprightly writer handling this ſubject. "Le peuple ne s'ennuie guerre, ſa vie eſt active; "ſi ſes amuſemens ne ſont pas variés, ils ſont "rares; beaucoup de jours de fatigue lui font gou-"ter avec délices quelques jours de fêtes. Une "alternative de longs travaux et de courts loiſirs "tient lieu d'aſſaiſonement aux plaiſirs de ſon "état. Pour les riches, leur grand fleau c'eſt "l'ennui: au ſein de tant d'amuſemens raſſem-"blés à grands fraix, au milieu de tant de gens "concourans à leur plaire, l'ennui les conſume et "les tue; ils paſſent leur vie à le fuir et à en "être atteints; ils ſont accablés de ſon poids in-"ſupportable: les femmes, ſur-tout, qui ne "ſavent plus s'occuper, ni s'amuſer, en ſont dé-"vorées ſous le nom de vapeurs." *Rouſſeau, Emile.* What enjoyment, then, have the opulent above others? Let them beſtow their riches in making others happy: benevolence will double their own happineſs; firſt, in the direct act of doing

without horror, of abandoning them. A virtuous man conſiders himſelf as placed here in order to obey the will of his Maker: he performs his duty, and is ready to quit his poſt upon the firſt ſummons.

ing good; and next, in reflecting upon the good they have done, the moſt delicate of all feaſts.

Had the Engliſh continued Pagans, they would have invented a new deity to preſide over cookery. I ſay it with regret, but muſt ſay it, that a luxurious table, covered with every dainty, ſeems to be their favourite idol. A miniſter of ſtate never withſtands a feaſt; and the link that unites thoſe, in oppoſition, is the cramming one another *. I ſhall not be ſurpriſed to hear, that the cramming a miſtreſs has become the moſt faſhionable mode of courtſhip. Luxury in eating is not unknown in their univerſities; the only branch of education that ſeldom proves abortive. It has not eſcaped obſervation, that between the 1740 and 1770, no fewer than ſix Mayors of London died in office, a greater number than in the preceding 500 years: ſuch havoc doth luxury in eating make among the ſons of Albion †. How different the manners of their forefathers! Bonduca their Queen, ready to engage the Romans in a pitched battle, encouraged her army with a pathetic ſpeech, urging in particular

* This was compoſed in the year 1770.

† Suicide is not influenced by foggy air; for it is not more frequent in the fens of Lincoln or Eſſex, than in other parts of England. A habit of daily exceſs in eating and drinking, with intervals of downy eaſe, relax every mental ſpring. The man flags in his ſpirits, becomes languid and low: nothing moves him: every connection with the world is diſſolved: a *tædium vitæ* enſues; and then——

ticular the following conſideration: "The great "advantage we have over them is, that they can-"not, like us, bear hunger, thirſt, heat, nor cold. "They muſt have fine bread, wine, and warm "houſes: every herb and root ſatisfies our hun-"ger; water ſupplies the want of wine; and "every tree is to us a warm houſe (*a*) *."

If it ſhould be aſſerted, that no exceſs in eating or drinking is better entitled to be termed luxury, than the univerſal uſe of fermented liquors, rejecting water entirely; the propoſition would be ridiculed, as proceeding from ſome low-ſpirited aſcetic. Water, it will be ſaid, is indeed the original drink of animals, and a wholeſome drink it is. But why deny to the ingenuity of man improvements in nouriſhment, as well as in habitation and clothing? I grant there can be no reaſonable objection to fermented liquors, uſed as a delicacy, by people of eaſy fortune. But what I condemn, is their being the ſole drink of all ranks, not even excepting thoſe who live on charity. Conſider the quality of animal and vegetable food that can be produced on land employed entirely in raiſing vines, barley, and other materials of fermented

(*a*) Dion Caſſius.

* Providence has provided the gout as a beacon on the rock of luxury to warn againſt it. But in vain: during diſtreſs, vows of temperance are made: during the intervals, theſe vows are forgot. Luxury has gained too much ground in this iſland, to be reſtrained by admonition.

mented liquors. The exiſtence of many thouſands is annually prevented by that ſpecies of luxury.

The indulging in down-beds, ſoft pillows, and eaſy ſeats, is a ſpecies of luxury; becauſe it tends to enervate the body, and to render it unfit for fatigue. Some London ladies employ an operator for pairing their nails. Two young women of high quality, who were ſiſters, employed a ſervant with ſoft hands to raiſe them gently out of bed in a morning. Nothing leſs than all-powerful vanity can make ſuch perſons ſubmit to the fatigues of a toilet: how can they ever think of ſubmitting to the horrid pangs of child-bearing! In the hot climates of Aſia, people of rank are rubbed and chaffed twice a-day; which, beſide being pleaſant, is neceſſary for health, by moving the blood in a hot country, where ſloth and indolence prevail. The Greeks and Romans were curried, bathed, and oiled, daily; though they had not the ſame excuſe for that practice: it was luxury in them, though not in the Aſiatics.

Nations, where luxury is unknown, are troubled with few diſeaſes, and have few phyſicians by profeſſion. In the early ages of Rome, women and ſlaves were the only phyſicians, becauſe vegetables were the chief food of the people; who beſide were conſtantly employed in war or in huſbandry. When luxury prevailed among the Romans, their diſeaſes

diſeaſes multiplied, and phyſic became a liberal profeſſion.

With reſpect to exerciſe, the various machines that have been invented for executing every ſort of work, render bodily ſtrength of leſs importance than formerly. This change is favourable to mental operations, without hurting bodily health. The travelling on horſeback, though a leſs vigorous exertion of ſtrength than walking, is not luxury, becauſe it is a healthful exerciſe. I dare not ſay ſo much for wheel-carriages: a ſpring-coach, rolling along a ſmooth road, gives no exerciſe; or ſo little, as to be preventive of no diſeaſe: it tends to enervate the body, and, in ſome meaſure, alſo the mind. The increaſe of wheel-carriages within a century is a pregnant proof of the growth of luxurious indolence. During the reign of James I. the Engliſh judges rode to Weſtminſter on horſeback, and probably did ſo for many years after his death. Charles I. iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting hackney-coaches to be uſed in London, except by thoſe who travel at leaſt three miles out of town. At the Reſtoration, Charles II. made his public entry into London on horſeback, between his two brothers, Dukes of York and Glouceſter. We have Ruſhworth for our voucher, that in London, not above a hundred years ago, there were but twenty hackney-coaches; which did not ply on the ſtreets, but were kept at home till called for. He adds, that

that the King and council publiſhed a proclamation againſt them, becauſe they raiſed the price of provender upon the King, nobility, and gentry. At preſent, 1000 hackney-coaches ply on the ſtreets of London; beſide a great number of ſtage-coaches for travelling from London to all parts of the kingdom. The firſt coach with glaſſes in France was brought from Bruſſels to Paris, *anno* 1660, by the Prince of Condé. Sedan-chairs were not known in England before the year 1634. Cookery and coaches have reduced the military ſpirit of the Engliſh nobility and gentry to a languid ſtate: the former, by overloading the body, has infected them with diſpiriting ailments; the latter, by foſtering eaſe and indolence, have baniſhed labour, the only antidote to ſuch ailments*. Too great indulgence in the fine arts conſumes part of the time that ought to be employed on the important duties of life: but the fine arts, even when too much indulged, produce one good effect, which is, to ſoften and humanize our manners: nor do they harm the body, if they relax not that degree of exerciſe which is neceſſary for ſupporting it in health and vigour.

The

* "J'ai toujours vu ceux qui voyageoient dans de bonnes voitures bien douces, rêveurs, triſtes, grondans ou ſouffrans; et les piétons toujours gais, legers, et contens de tout. Combien le cœur rit quand on approche du gîte! Combien un repas groſſier parôit favoureux! avec quel plaiſir on ſe repoſe à table! Quel bon ſommeil on fait dans un mauvais lit!" *Rouſſeau, Emile.*

The enervating effects of luxury upon the body, are, above all, remarkable in war. The officers of Alexander's army were ſoon tainted with Aſiatic manners. Moſt of them, after bathing, had ſervants for rubbing them, and, inſtead of plain oil, uſed precious ointments. Leonatus, in particular, commiſſioned from Egypt the powder he uſed when he wreſtled, which loaded ſeveral camels. Alexander reproved them mildly: "I wonder that "men who have undergone ſuch fatigues in war, "are not taught by experience, that labour pro-"duces ſweeter and ſounder ſleep than indolence. "To be voluptuous, is an abject and ſlaviſh ſtate. "How can a man take care of his horſe, or keep "his armour bright, who diſdains to employ his "own hands upon what is dearest to him, his own "body *?"

With reſpect to the mind in particular, manifold are the pernicious effects of luxury. Corporeal pleaſures are all of them ſelfiſh; and, when much indulged, tend to make ſelfiſhneſs the leading principle. Voluptuouſneſs accordingly, relaxing every ſympathetic affection, brings on a beaſtly ſelfiſhneſs, which leaves nothing of man but the external figure. Luxury, beſide, renders the mind ſo effeminate, as to be ſubdued by every diſtreſs: the ſlighteſt pain, whether of mind or body, is a real evil: and any higher degree becomes a torture. The

* Plutarch.

The French are far gone in that diſeaſe. Pictures of deep diſtreſs, which attract Engliſh ſpectators, are to the French unſupportable: their averſion to pain overcomes the attractive power of ſympathy, and debars from the ſtage every diſtreſs that makes a deep impreſſion. The Britiſh are gradually ſinking into the ſame weakneſs: *Venice Preſerved* collects not ſuch numbers as it did originally; and would ſcarce be endured, were not our ſympathy blunted by familiarity: a new play in a ſimilar tone would not take. The gradual decay of manhood in Britain, appears from their funeral rites. Formerly the deceaſed were attended to the grave by relations and friends of both ſexes; and the day of their death was preſerved in remembrance, with ſolemn lamentation, as the day of their birth was with exhilarating cups. In England, a man was firſt relieved from attending his deceaſed wife to the grave; and afterward from attending his deceaſed children; and now ſuch effeminacy of mind prevails there, that, upon the laſt groan, the deceaſed, abandoned by every relation, is delivered to an undertaker by profeſſion, who is left at leiſure to mimic the funeral rites. In Scotland, ſuch refinement has not yet taken place: a man is indeed excuſed from attending his wife to the grave; but he performs that duty in perſon to every other relation, his children not excepted. I am told, that

that people of high fashion in England begin to leave the care of their sick relations to hired nurses; and think they do their duty in making short visits from time to time.

Hitherto I have considered luxury with respect to those only who are infected with it; and, did its poison spread no wider, the case perhaps would be the less deplorable. But unhappily, where luxury prevails, the innocent suffer with the guilty. A man of economy, whether a merchant, or a manufacturer, lays up a stock for his children, and adds useful members to the state. A man, on the contrary, who lives above his fortune, or his profits, accustoms his children to luxury, and abandons them to poverty when he dies. Luxury, at the same time, is a great enemy to population: it enhances the expence of living, and confines many to the bachelor-state. Luxury of the table, in particular, is remarkable for that effect: "L'homme riche met toute " sa gloire à consommer, toute sa grandeur à per- " dre, en un jour à sa table, plus de biens qu'il " n'en faudroit pour faire subsister plusieurs fa- " milles. Il abuse également et des animaux et des " hommes: dont le reste demeure affamé, languit " dans la misêre, et ne travaille que pour satisfaire " à l'appétit immodéré, et à la vanité encore plus " insatiable, de cet homme; qui detruisant les

" autres

"autres par la diſette, ſe detruit lui-même par les "excès *."

To conſider luxury in a political view, no refinement of dreſs, of the table, of equipage, of habitation, is luxury in thoſe who can afford the expence; and the public gains by the encouragement that is given to arts, manufactures, and commerce. But a mode of living above a man's annual income, weakens the ſtate, by reducing to poverty, not only the ſquanderers themſelves, but many innocent and induſtrious perſons connected with them. Luxury is, above all, pernicious in a commercial ſtate. A perſon of moderation is ſatisfied with ſmall profits: not ſo the luxurious, who deſpiſe every branch of trade but what returns great profits: other branches are engroſſed by foreigners who are more frugal. The merchants of Amſterdam, and even of London, within a century, lived with more economy than their clerks do at preſent. Their country-houſes and gardens make not the greateſt articles of their expence. At firſt, a merchant

* "The ſole glory of the rich man is, to conſume and de-"ſtroy; and his grandeur conſiſts, in laviſhing in one day "upon the expence of his table what would procure ſubſiſt-"ence for many families. He abuſes equally animals and "his fellow-creatures; a great part of whom, a prey to fa-"mine, and languiſhing in miſery, labour and toil to ſatisfy "his immoderate deſires, and inſatiable vanity; who, deſtroy-"ing others by want, deſtroys himſelf by exceſs."—*Buffon.*

chant retires to his country-houſe on Sundays only and holidays: but beginning to reliſh indolent retirement, buſineſs grows irkſome, he truſts all to his clerks, loſes the thread of his affairs, ſees no longer with his own eyes, and is now in the high way to perdition. Every croſs accident makes him totter: and in labouring circumſtances, he is tempted to venture all in hopes of re-eſtabliſhment. He falls at laſt to downright gaming; which, ſetting conſcience aſide, is a prudent meaſure: he riſks only the money of his creditors, for he himſelf has nothing to loſe: it is now with him, *Cæſar aut nihil* *. Such a man never falls without involving many in his ruin.

The bad effects of luxury above diſplayed, are not the whole, nor indeed the moſt deſtructive. In all times luxury has been the ruin of every ſtate where it prevailed. Nations originally are poor and virtuous. They advance to induſtry, commerce, and perhaps to conqueſt and empire. But this ſtate is never permanent: great opulence opens a wide door to indolence, ſenſuality, corruption, proſtitution, perdition. But that more important branch of the ſubject is reſerved to particular ſketches, where it will make a better figure.

In the ſavage ſtate, man is almoſt all body, with a very ſmall proportion of mind. In the maturity of civil ſociety, he is complete both in mind and body,

* "Cæſar or nothing."

body. In a ſtate of degeneracy by luxury and voluptuouſneſs, he has neither mind nor body *.

* In ancient Egypt, execution againſt the perſon of a debtor was prohibited. Such a law could not obtain, but among a temperate people, where bankruptcy happens by misfortune, and ſeldom by luxury or extravagance. In Switzerland, not only a bankrupt but even his ſons are excluded from public office till all the family debts be paid.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.